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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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Selections.

THE NEW SCHOOL PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

[The Slavery question came up in the General Assembly of the (N. S.) Presbyterian Church, in this city, on the 19th ult., on the presentation of the two following Reports.]

MAJORITY REPORT.

THE Committee appointed by the last General Assembly "to report to the next Assembly on the constitutional power of the Assembly over the subject of slaveholding in our churches" respectfully submit the following Report:

It should be observed, at the outset, that the Committee are instructed to report on but a single point, that of "power." The question before them is not what it may be wise for the Assembly to do. Not what, in a particular case, or in general—authority being presupposed—would be for edification. But what is the *power* of the Assembly in the matter of slaveholding. This is a question which can be determined only by reference to our Form of Government. The "power" on which we are to report is fitly designated as "constitutional." We are a constitutional body. No judicatory of our Church has any legitimate functions, save those which, either expressly or by clear implication, the Constitution confers. Emphatically should this be said of our highest judicatory, in view of the tendency of human nature, in ecclesiastical connections, to a grasping and tyrannous centralism. The one-man power at Rome is hardly more abhorrent to the genius of Presbyterianism than would be a many-headed papacy under the name and form of a General Assembly. It should be remembered, also, that as a visible Church, or particular denomination, our Constitution is the sole bond of our union. We are united, externally and formally, only as that unites us. That, of course, must measure and limit the responsibility for each other which grows out of our union. No one part of our body can be held answerable for evils in another, which, by the terms of our confederation, it has no power to reach.

The Committee would further remark, that they do not feel themselves called on to present their views of the moral character of slavery, nor to reargue the question whether slaveholding is, in any case, a disciplinable offence. They do not suppose they were appointed with reference to that question. It was thoroughly discussed in the Assembly of 1850, and the conclusion reached, "that the holding our fellow-men in the condition of slavery, except in those cases where it is unavoidable by the laws of the State, the obligations of guardianship, or the demands of humanity, is an offence in the proper import of that term, as used in the Book of Discipline, chapter 1, section 3, and should be regarded and treated in the same manner as other offences." This opinion has been reäffirmed, either expressly or virtually, by nearly every succeeding Assembly, including the last. Nor do the Committee anticipate that any considerable portion of the present Assembly will either stand in doubt concerning it or incline, in the least, to a retrograde course. The doctrine set forth at Detroit—set forth simply as a doctrine, and not as a law or judicial decision—is yet, they judge, the settled view of our Church. Taking this for granted, their sole concern is with the relation of the Assembly to the matter. To determine this point, we have only to ascertain what are the constitutional powers of that body in respect to disciplinable offences generally.

Its functions, in this regard, we judge, are of two kinds, *advisory* and *authoritative;* and between these there should be careful discrimination. The *advisory* function of the Assembly is of very wide scope. According to the Form of Government, chapter 12, section 5, they have the power "of reproving, warning, or bearing testimony against error in doctrine or immorality in practice, in any Church, Presbytery, or Synod," and "of recommending * * reformation of manners * * through all the churches under their care." This function of reproof may be exercised in reference to any evil grave enough to call for it. Nor is it an unimportant function. The testimony of such a body as the General Assembly, especially if unanimously given, must needs have great weight. It has, indeed, only a *moral* influence. It is not authoritative. It binds no other body, not even a succeeding Assembly. It binds no individual, yet cases are not unfrequent in which a moral influence of this sort, if not the only one that could be employed, is the most efficacious. It has greater power over the conscience, often, than the most stringent exercise of bare authority.

As it respects the *authoritative* function of the Assembly, or its power of discipline, that, we judge, can only be exercised in the forms and methods marked out in the Constitution. It is by no means coëxtensive with its testifying power. As counsel or testimony has only a moral force, the manner in which it shall be put forth is wisely left to the discretion of the Assembly. Not so with discipline. Concerning, as it does, the dearest rights and interests, it is of the highest importance that the mode of its exercise should be particularly prescribed. So we find it in our Form of Government. Every step is distinctly set forth, and the greatest care taken to guard all concerned against mistake and abuse. Nor is any exception made as to any particular class of offences. If slaveholding is in any case to be dealt with as a disciplinable matter, it must be in some one of the ways explicitly authorized in the Constitution.

The methods in which the *authoritative* action of the Assembly may be invoked, as appears from the seventh chapter of the Book of Discipline, are four: By *reference*, by *appeal*, by *complaint*, and—to state that last which, in the Book of Discipline, comes first—by *general review and control*. The three processes first named do not, of course, originate in the Assembly. Their inception is in a lower judicatory. In one or another of them, it is presumed, most of the matters which call for disciplinary action on the part of the highest judicatory will, in due time, come before it. There is, however, a possibility of neglect in this regard, and, for such a contingency, our Constitution—framed with a wisdom best appreciated by those who have most thoroughly studied it—has made a specific provision. This provision is found in the section on "General review and control." See Book of Discipline, chapter 7, section 1.

Under this section there are two methods in which any disciplinable offence—and slaveholding, of course, when it assumes that character—may be reached authoritatively by the Assembly. (1.) It may appear from the records of a Synod, as submitted for inspection, that there has been some wrong-doing or culpable omission in the matter. A case may have been incorrectly decided, or refused a hearing. Or it may be obvious that the records of some Presbytery have not, according to the 2d and 3d articles of this section, been properly disposed of. Or it may appear that the duty enjoined in the 6th article, that of citing a lower judicatory in a given contingency, has been entirely neglected. In cases of this sort, there may be "animadversion or censure," or, according to article 3, the Synod "may be required to review and correct its proceedings." (2.) "Any important delinquency, or grossly unconstitutional proceedings," not apparent from the records, may yet be charged against a Synod "by common fame." It may be reported, for example, that, through some neglect of the Synod, "heretical opinions or corrupt practices" are "allowed to gain ground," or that "offenders of a very gross character" are "suffered to escape." See articles 5 and 6, of this same section. In such case, provided the rumour is of the character specified in the Book of Discipline, chapter 3, section 5—for a process against a Synod should certainly not be commenced on slighter grounds than against an individual—the Assembly "is to cite the judicatory alleged to have offended, to appear at a specified time and place, and to show what it has done, or failed to do, in the case in question; after which the judicatory thus issuing the citation shall remit the whole matter to the delinquent judicatory, with a direction to take it up, and dispose of it in a constitutional manner." See Book of Discipline, chapter 7, section 1, article 6.

In view of the aforenamed and other provisions of our form of government, touching the authority of the Assembly, two things are to be carefully noted.

1. It has no power to *commence* a process of discipline with an individual offender. That, by a just and wise arrangement, belongs to the Session in the case of a layman, to the Presbytery in the case of minister. The disciplinary function of the Assembly as to individuals is simply appellate and revisionary. It is not the court of first, but of last resort.

2. In the way of "general review and control," it can reach *directly* only the judiciary next below—that is, the Synod. See Book of Discipline, chapter 7, section 1, article 6. Indirectly, indeed, the doings of other bodies may be involved. A Session may grossly neglect discipline, for example, and the recorded indication, or the common fame thereof, may not be properly heeded by the Presbytery. The fruit of this heedlessness, or the evidence of it in the Presbyterial records, may call forth no appropriate action on the part of the Synod; and this may be brought, by the Synodical records, or by general rumour, to the knowledge of the Assembly. On the ground either of the record or the rumour, the Assembly may cite the Synod before them. Thus, *mediately*, may even a Session be reached, but not directly.

Such are the metes and bounds which our form of government has prescribed, and which the Assembly may not overpass. It is quite possible that, in connection with them, offenders of various sorts may sometimes escape. To a human administration, of however divine a system, imperfection always pertains. Our Book of Discipline, indeed (chapter 3, section 3), distinctly recognises a class of cases in which, "however grievous it may be to the pious to see an unworthy member in the Church, it is proper to wait until God, in his righteous providence, shall give further light." Waiting may be rendered necessary by a lack of fidelity on the part of the lower judicatories, as well as by a lack of evidence. We speak of it, of course, not as an actual, but only as a supposable case. And it may seem to some a great evil that the General Assembly is not invested with larger powers. Yet it would be a greater evil to allow any departure from the carefully devised processes of discipline set forth in the Constitution. To permit the Assembly to adopt, at its pleasure, new processes—to suit its own powers to real or fancied exigencies—would not only invest it with legislative functions; it would virtually annul the Constitution, and transform the highest judicatory of the Church into an overshadowing ecclesiastical despotism.

It has, indeed, been urged—though we see not with what reason—that the advisory function of the Assembly, or its power of bearing testimony, implies the authority necessary to enforce that testimony. Is there, then, no just and salutary distinction between persuasion and compulsion? Must the two be ever conjoined? Are there no cases in which a simply moral power may, in the nature of things, be most potent. Must the Assembly utter no counsels which are not to be interpreted as mandatory and coercive? If they may enforce all their counsels, how are they to do it? By processes which they themselves devise—extra constitutional processes? Or are they to be held to the provisions of the Book of Discipline? They have, it is true, the right, according to the Form of Government, chapter 12, section 5, of "attempting," as well as "recommending, reformation of manners." But the attempt must be made, if discipline is to be involved, only in the method prescribed in the Constitution. To all desirable ends, the Committee believe that method will be found adequate; especially as connected with that testifying and reproving function so often exercised in time past, and which, by a body like the Assembly, can never be wisely exercised but with salutary results.

ALBERT BARNES, ASA D. SMITH,
WM. JESSUP, AUGUSTUS P. HASBALL.

MINORITY REPORT.

The undersigned, a member of the Committee appointed by the last General Assembly "to report to this Assembly on the constitutional power of the Assembly over the subject of slaveholding in our churches," being constrained to differ from the majority of the Committee, begs leave to submit the following report:

The undersigned takes pleasure in saying that *most* of the views expressed in the majority report meet his concurrence. The principles therein stated, by which the General Assembly is to be governed in its action with reference to what are recognised as offences by the Constitution of the Church are clearly presented in the Book of Discipline. The process is the same in regard to *all* offences stated to be such in the Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church. The General Assembly has the power, as an *advisory* body, of reforming, warning, or bearing testimony against any error in doctrine or immorality in practice it pleases, whether that error or immorality is referred to in our Confession or not; but that reproof and testimony can have no authoritative or binding effect upon the lower judicatories. As a *Judicial* body, the General Assembly has the power to decide all cases of offence brought before it for adjudication, either by reference, or complaint, or appeal from a lower judicatory. As a Court of Review, it can require Synods to review and correct any proceedings in regard to offences that may have been irregular, or not in accordance with the Constitution. In the same capacity it can cite before its bar a Synod to answer to the charge of allowing "heretical opinions or corrupt practices to gain ground," provided *common rumour*, such as is specified in chap. 3, sec. 5 of the Book of Discipline, charges the Synod with such delinquency. The Assembly cannot originate discipline, nor can it act *directly* upon any other judicatory than the Synod. But if the Synod omits to require of a Presbytery to see that the session takes cognizance of alleged "heretical opinions or corrupt practices," then the Assembly can cite the Synod to appear before it to answer to the charge of delinquency in duty; "after which the whole matter is to be referred to the Synod, with the direction to take it up, and dispose of it in a constitutional manner, or stay all further proceedings in the case, as circumstances may require. Chapter 7, Sec. 1, Article 6. The lower judicatory would be bound to consider the subject ordered by the Assembly to be investigated, but the issue of the case is still left with the lower judicatory. If the Synod should judge, after considering the subject, that no further action on the part of the Presbytery or session is called for, it has the constitutional right to stay all further proceedings. It has discharged its obligations to the Assembly when it has taken up the subject for consideration. The Assembly has gone to the extent of its power when it has directed the lower judicatory to consider it. The final issue of the matter, according to the Constitution of the Church, is now left to the lower courts.

These constitutional principles, in regard to offences, are, in substance, recognised in the report of the majority of the Committee. In the views expressed by the majority on this branch of the subject, the undersigned cordially concurs.

The undersigned likewise concurs in the sentiment which he understands is implied in the second resolution, adopted by the Assembly in Detroit, and which he has the assurance is the opinion of the majority of the committee, that slaveholding is not a *sin per se;* and cannot, therefore, on this ground, be made a subject of discipline. The undersigned also readily admits that slaveholding, like every other relation in life, is a sin in the sight of God, when it is inconsistent with the demands of humanity. In his view of the subject, the exceptions stated in the second resolution, adopted in Detroit, will cover at least the vast majority of cases, if not every case of slaveholding in the land. He considers that in the present condition of the coloured population in the slaveholding States, the law of love and the obligations of guardianship demand that the relation of master and servant should exist until some scheme, in the providence of God, is devised by which the white and coloured population can be separated, and the latter be, not merely in name, but actually invested with all the rights and privileges of freemen. The undersigned, therefore, does not dissent from the sentiment implied in the Detroit resolutions, and in the report of the majority of the Committee, that slaveholding is a sin in the sight of God, if it exists in violation of the obligations of guardianship, or of the demands of humanity.

The ground of the undersigned's objections to the Detroit resolutions, and to their endorsement by the majority of the Committee, is two-fold:

1. First, because, in his view, neither the General Assembly nor any other Court of the Church has the power to regard and treat that as an offence, in the sense in which the term is used in the Book of Discipline, which is not *specifically* stated to be such in the Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church.

2. Because the interpretation of the Constitution is a *judicial* act; and inasmuch as the Assembly can exercise its Judicial power in regard to offences only with reference to a case brought before it from a lower Court by reference, complaint or appeal, or as a Court of Review, and as the Assembly at Detroit was not called upon to decide a judicial case, or to act as a Court of Review, that body transcended its power when it declared slaveholding to be in certain circumstances an offence, *in the sense in which the term is used in the Book of Discipline.*

In proof of the first position, it may be observed that it is a principle clearly recognised, both in ecclesiastical and civil governments, that a Court can only exercise the powers which are specifically granted to it by the Constitution. In legislative bodies, powers of a general nature may exist. This must, of necessity, be the case. It must be left discretionary with the body to determine how a general power may be exercised. No constitution can provide for every contingency that may arise, and that may require the exercise of legislative authority. Hence, powers of a general nature are, for the most part, granted to legislative bodies. It is not so, however, with the Judiciary. Its powers are specifically mentioned. They are never of a general nature. The offences over which the Court is to exercise authority, and the penalty to be inflicted, in the event of their commission, are distinctly stated. If the legislative authority has failed to provide for certain offences that may exist in a community, its neglect cannot invest the Court with the right, under the general power of interpreting the Constitution, to declare an act an offence which is not distinctly exhibited as such either in the Constitution or laws of the State. However desirable it may be to punish an individual for what the community may regard as an offence, he cannot be arraigned by the Court so long as the Legislature does not interpose and provide by enactment for the particular offence. The Court would be regarded as guilty of a gross assumption of power, and as taking into its hands what belongs to the legislative department of government, if it should condemn as an offence what neither the Constitution nor the laws so declare. Its province is to interpret the Constitution and laws; but in doing so it cannot go beyond their literal import. It cannot, in virtue of its constructive power, authoritatively declare that to be an offence, under any circumstances, to which neither the Constitution nor the laws of the State make the slightest allusion.

The application of these general remarks to the subject under consideration is obvious. It will be conceded that the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church possesses no legislative power, in the proper acceptation of that term. It cannot make laws which are binding upon the consciences of the members of the Church. It will also be admitted that the Confession of Faith nowhere directly alludes to slaveholding as an offence. The subject is not referred to in any part of the book. With these concessions it may be asked on what ground can the General Assembly claim the power to pronounce slaveholding, under any circumstances, an offence in the sense in which that term is used in the Book of Discipline? Can this, the highest court of the Church, authoritatively pronounce anything an offence it pleases, when not a word is said upon the subject in the Confession of Faith? The second resolution passed by the Assembly at Detroit, and indorsed by a majority of the Committee, implies that the Assembly has this power; and in confirmation of this opinion it is urged: 1. That the Book of Discipline gives only a general definition of the word offence, leaving it to the Assembly, as the highest court of the Church, to determine what acts come under this definition. It is said that is a *constitutional* question, to be decided by the Assembly. Does the word *offence* include slaveholding in any case; and if so, in what? In reply, the undersigned would remark, that whilst it is true that the Book of Discipline gives only a general definition of the word *offence* (and how could it be otherwise?), the standards of the Church do not leave it to the judicatories to decide what particular acts come under this definition. It will not be pretended that the Confession of Faith *directly* confers such powers upon the judicatories of the Church. It is wholly inferential. In the view of the undersigned, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, which are a part of our standards and are as obligatory as any other, were designed to be expositions of what, in the judgment of the Church, constitute truth and error. It is true the Assembly has the power to determine the import of the words involved in the general definition of offence, as given in the Book of Discipline. But it is a totally distinct question whether it has the power to apply that definition in particular cases. The former is a power given to the Assembly as a Court. The latter it possesses only so far as the standards of the Church designate particular acts as offences. The Book of Discipline gives the following definition of offence: "An offence is anything in the principles or practice of a Church member which is contrary to the Word of God, and which, if it be not in its own nature sinful, may tempt others to sin or mar their spiritual edification." If this language is to be taken without limitation, it is evident there is no relation in life which may not be considered an offence in the sense in which the term is used in the Book of Discipline. The relation of husband and wife, of parent and child, and of master and servant in the free States, is found oftentimes to exist in circumstances in which those sustaining it are tempted to sin, and are daily conscious that it "mars their spiritual edification." Are we, therefore, to infer that those who sustain these relations, under such circumstances, are chargeable with an offence, in the sense in which that term is used in the Book of Discipline? Or does it belong to any court of the Church to determine whether these relations, existing in such circumstances, are an offence? Surely not. And yet if this general definition gives to the General Assembly the power to declare slaveholding an offence, because in some instances the relation may tempt to sin, there is no conceivable reason why the same may not be predicated of every relation in life. In this connection, however, it is important to observe that, in order to ascertain what are the principles and practices of Church members which are contrary to the Word of God, or which, though not in their own nature sinful, may tempt others to sin, we are directed in the section in the Book of Discipline immediately following the one containing the definition of an offence to look—where? To the General Assembly? Not at all. But to the Scriptures, and the regulations and practice of the Church. "Nothing, therefore, it is said, ought to be considered an offence which cannot be proved to be such from Scripture, or from the regulations and practice of the Church, founded on Scripture." And who are to determine what are the teachings of Scripture in regard to what may be charged as offences, in the sense in which the term was used in the Book of Discipline? Is it left to every Session, or Presbytery, or Synod, or General Assembly to decide what the Scriptures teach on the subject of offences? Or was the Confession of Faith, including the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, and that alone, designed to be an exposition of what the Presbyterian Church regarded as taught in the Word of God on this subject? The undersigned considers the latter view the only one that can be reconciled with the spirit of our Constitution.

2. But it may be said that, according to the Constitution, "To the General Assembly belongs the power of deciding in all controversies respecting doctrine and discipline; or reproving, warning, or bearing testimony against error in doctrine, or immorality in practice, in any Church, Presbytery, or Synod, and of superintending the concerns of the whole Church." Sec. 5, Ch. 12, F. of G. From this language it is inferred that, if the General Assembly regard slaveholding in certain cases "an immorality in practice," it has the power to declare it to be an *offence* in the sense in which the term is used in the Book of Discipline. The undersigned cannot admit the justice of this inference. It doubtless belongs to the Assembly to decide all controversies respecting doctrine and practice, and of superintending the concerns of the whole Church. But the question is, how is the Assembly to exercise its power in this respect? This section does not answer the question. We learn, however, from other parts of the Constitution, that the mode in which this power is to be exercised is distinctly specified—so that it is not left to the Assembly to determine either what is an error in doctrine or an immorality in practice, or by what method it shall decide controversies respecting doctrine and practice, and superintend the concerns of the whole Church. The Assembly, like every other judicatory of the Church, in exercising the authority with which it has been intrusted, is to be guided by the express provisions of the Constitution. Its power to decide controversies respecting doctrine and practice, and to bear testimony against what it may consider an error in doctrine or an immorality in practice, does not involve the right to regard that as heresy or an offence which is not condemned as such by the standards of the Church. If such power belongs to the Assembly, who is secure from the accusation of heresy, or immorality in practice? The opinion of the Assembly, instead of the Confession of Faith, then becomes the standard of orthodoxy and morality. And as the Assembly is a delegated body, and is generally composed of different members at each successive meeting, there may be as many opposite expressions of opinions as there are meetings of the body. What one Assembly would declare "an error in doctrine and immorality in practice," another might regard as truth, and free from the charge of immorality. In this age of progress and wild fanaticism, theories and practices might be authoritatively announced to the Assembly as essential to truth and virtue, which the greater part of evangelical Christians would consider pernicious errors, and most immoral in their tendency. With such power granted to it, nothing else would be wanting to invest the Assembly with all the attributes of an oligarchy, as supreme in its control of the ministers and members of the Church, and possessed of power as tyrannical, as that which ever distinguished an ecclesiastical council of Rome! With such a power, the Assembly might disregard the plain provision of the Constitution, making it imperative to send down overtures to the Presbyteries for their adoption, before any change in that instrument can be effected. Under a general power of interpreting the Constitution, it would virtually be enacting a law respecting errors in doctrine and practice, when confessedly no allusion is made to either in the Confession of Faith, and when the Presbyteries, according to the plain language of the Constitution, are the only law-making power known to the Presbyterian Church. Surely, then, this interpretation of this section of the Form of Government is incorrect. The undersigned understands it as giving to the General Assembly the power to decide controversies respecting what the standards of the Church expressly declare to be errors in doctrine and immoralities in practice. And if the Assembly bears its testimony against what it may consider as heresy or sin, but to which our standards make no allusion, it must be in virtue of its advisory power. But that error in doctrine or immorality in practice, whether real or imaginary, cannot be regarded as heresy or an offence, in the sense in which the term is used in the Book of Discipline. In order to this, we repeat, it must be distinctly condemned as such in the standards of the Church; otherwise there is no security for any minister or member of the Church against the precipitate or unauthorized action of the highest judicatory of the Church.

The undersigned, therefore, dissents from the action of the Assembly at Detroit on the subject of slaveholding, and which is indorsed by a majority of the Committee, because slaveholding is not alluded to in the Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church, and for this reason the relation itself between master and servant cannot be an offence, whatever may be the circumstances in which it exists, in the sense in which that term is used in the Book of Discipline.

It may be said, however, that although slaveholding, existing in certain circumstances, is not *directly* prohibited in the standards of the Church, yet *oppression* is distinctly stated to be a violation of the eighth commandment, and, as slaveholding involves oppression, it is an offence in the sense in which the term is used in the Book of Discipline, and, therefore, can be made a subject of discipline.

The undersigned readily admits that if slaveholding and oppression are synonymous terms—if, according to the obvious, well-understood and established meaning of the term *oppression*, it enters *essentially* into slaveholding, so that the latter cannot exist without it, then every case of slaveholding on the part of the members of the Presbyterian Church is an offence in the sense in which the term is used in the Book of Discipline. For, although the term slaveholding may not be used, still, if oppression is a synonymous word, according to the acknowledged rules of interpreting language, then the thing—the relation itself—is *directly* prohibited, and, according to the principle we have exhibited, an individual sustaining this relation may be prosecuted before the proper judicatory for *oppression*. As the offence must be specifically stated, *oppression* is the sin for which he must be disciplined.

The undersigned would observe, in regard to this position, that however it may be with those who believe that slaveholding is a sin *in itself*, no advocate of the Detroit resolutions can conscientiously base the power of the General Assembly of the Church to make slaveholding a matter for discipline, on the ground either that oppression and slaveholding are synonymous terms or that the former is necessarily involved in the latter. The action at Detroit implies that there are cases of slaveholding which are not an offence, either in the sight of God or of man. Oppression, however, is always a sin. It is as much a sin *(per se)* as blasphemy or idolatry. No circumstances in which it is practised can justify it. It does not enter, therefore, essentially into slaveholding; and hence it follows that slaveholding cannot, on this ground, be made a subject of discipline by any court of the Church. But, admitting that slaveholding cannot be made a subject of discipline, because it is synonymous with oppression, or necessarily implies it, it may be asked, did not the Presbyterian Church in the United States, when it adopted the Confession of Faith as its standard, intend to include slaveholding under the term oppression, so that it can be the subject of discipline if the court of the Church, to which is entrusted the power to try offences, should think proper to regard it in the same light? The undersigned admits that if it can be proved by documentary evidence, such as cannot be questioned, that when the Confession of Faith was adopted by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, slaveholding in any case was intended to be included under the term oppression, then slaveholding exists under the circumstances specified, the individual sustaining the relation may be prosecuted under the charge of oppression. It is proper to judge of the import of the terms of the Constitution by the manifest intent of its framers, or of those who first adopted it. The undersigned then would ask, where is the evidence that the first General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, or that the Synods preceding the first General Assembly designed to include slaveholding under the term oppression, when they adopted the Confession of Faith as their standard? So far from such evidence being on record, the circumstances connected with the formation of the first General Assembly, and the history of the Synods preceding it, would lead to the conclusion that those judicatories could not have understood the term oppression to include slaveholding. When the General Assembly was first organized, twelve out of the thirteen States were slaveholding States. A considerable portion of the members of the Assembly represented churches existing in those States, and it is not an unreasonable supposition that some of the members of that body were slaveholders. Can it be possible then that they intended to include slaveholding—the mere relation of master and slave—under the term oppression, or to intimate that the relation itself, existing under any circumstances, could be a bar to Christian communion, and could be a subject of discipline? The undersigned is persuaded that if such an idea had been entertained and expressed, the General Assembly would not have been organized in 1789. He is constrained, therefore, to believe that no one is justified in inferring, from the use of the term oppression, the right of any judicatory of the Church to regard slaveholding, in any case, an offence in the sense in which the term is used in the Book of Discipline. In denying to the General Assembly the power to regard slaveholding, in any case, an offence in the sense in which the term is used in the Book of Discipline, it is proper to observe that we concede that the abuses of this relation, like those of every other relation in life, when brought before the Assembly in the way prescribed by the Constitution, may be treated as offences in the sense in which the term is used in the Book of Discipline. Cruelty, correcting inferiors unduly, withholding from them what is necessary to subsistence and comfort, and disregarding the spiritual interests of those committed to our care, are sins prohibited in the standards of the Presbyterian Church; and may, therefore, be made subjects of discipline, whether they exist in connection with slaveholding, or the relation of husband and wife, of parent and child, or of master and apprentice. The undersigned considers that there is an obvious distinction between slaveholding and the evils incident to the relation; and that whilst the latter, being prohibited in the standards of the Church, may be the subject of discipline, the former, not being referred to in the Confession of Faith, cannot be treated as an offence in any case. The master to whom a child is bound as an apprentice may treat him cruelly; and if he is a member of the Church, he may be disciplined by the church session for cruelty. But who would say that he is liable to the discipline of the Church for sustaining the relation itself? The husband and parent may be chargeable before a church judicatory for cruel treatment towards his wife and children. But can a lawful marriage and parental relation exist in any circumstances that would render the individual subject to discipline for sustaining the relation? There may be circumstances when individuals would commit sin in the sight of God by entering into the marriage relation. But the Church judiciary can take cognizance only of the abuses of the relation, and not of the relation itself. In referring to these various relations in life, the undersigned would not be understood as placing slaveholding upon an equal footing with them in every respect. His object is to illustrate a principle that he considered vital to the question under consideration, to wit: that while a delinquency in performing the duties arising from the relation of master and servant, and which are designated in the standards of the Church, may render a slaveholder liable to the discipline of the Church, he cannot, under any circumstances, be disciplined for sustaining the relation itself. The essential idea of slaveholding is, that one individual is invested with the right of exercising legal power over the service of another without his consent, or, to express the sentiment in the language of a distinguished author of our Church, it is "the exacting of personal services without consent." It is a relation established by the laws of the land, and is recognised in the Word of God as existing among the members of the Church under the Old Testament dispensation, and among those whom the Apostles admitted into the Christian Church. It is implied in the resolutions passed by the Assembly in Detroit that the relation in itself is not sinful. It may be abused, and, like other innocent relations in life, it may be entered into through improper motives, which may render the individual criminal in the sight of God. If the master abuses his authority by a cruel treatment of his servants, he is as subject to the discipline of the Church as is the husband for the cruel treatment of his wife, or the parent for unmerciful conduct towards his child. In the view of the undersigned, it was in consequence of overlooking this distinction between a relation that is confessedly innocent in itself and the wicked abuses of that relation that the Assembly at Detroit was led to declare slaveholding, in certain circumstances, an offence, in the sense in which that term is used in the Book of Discipline. Had the Assembly declared that the abuses of the slaveholding relation—such as may exist in other relations in life, and not the relation itself—was an offence in the sense in which the term is used in the Book of Discipline, whilst the undersigned would consider the mode in which the declaration was made irregular, the sentiment itself would meet his concurrence. He recognises the right of the lower judicatories to institute discipline against a slaveholder for cruelty towards his slaves, and the right of the General Assembly to issue a judicial case, involving the charge of cruelty, brought regularly before it, or upon the basis of common rumour, if a Synod neglects to enjoin upon its Presbyteries to institute inquiry as to cruelties alleged to be practised by its members, it can be cited to appear before the Assembly to answer to the charge of delinquency, and the Assembly, if they think proper to do so, can enjoin upon the Synod to consider the subject, and to issue it as, in the view of the Synod, circumstances may require. This, in the judgment of the undersigned, is the extent of the power conferred by the Constitution upon the Assembly in reference to slaveholding, and to other innocent relations in life. The abuses of the relation may be treated as offences, when the charge is brought before the Assembly in the way prescribed by the Constitution, but not the relation itself. 2. The second objection to the resolutions passed by the Assembly at Detroit (to which the undersigned would briefly advert) is, that the interpretation of the Constitution is a judicial act, and, inasmuch as the Assembly can exercise its judicial power with respect to offences only when a case is brought before it from a lower court, by reference, complaint or appeal, or as a court of review—and as the Assembly at Detroit was not called upon to decide a judicial case, or to act as a court of review—that body transcended its power when it declared slaveholding, in certain cases, to be an offence, in the sense in which the term is used in the Book of Discipline. That the interpretation of the Constitution by a Court of the Church is a judicial act will not be questioned; for a body possessing both advisory and judicial power to interpret the Constitution in its advisory capacity would be an anomaly in the history of all well-ordered governments. In the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church provision is made for securing a judicial decision of the General Assembly in respect to other cases than offences by overtures from the lower Courts. Hence, when the Assembly interprets the Constitution, in reference to the subjects brought before it by these overtures, it acts in a judicial capacity. But neither the Constitution nor the practice of previous General Assemblies authorizes the Assembly to interpret the Constitution in regard to offences, unless either a case of discipline is brought before the body by reference, or complaint, or appeal; or unless the Assembly acts as a court of review. Apart, therefore, from the anomalous proceedings of a Court of the Church declaring abstractly what is an offence, in the sense in which the term is used in the Book of Discipline, the undersigned considers that the Assembly in Detroit transcended its power in making this declaration, when there was no judicial case presented for its decision, and when it was not called upon to act as a court of review. For these reasons the undersigned, whilst he cordially concurs in the views of the majority of the Committee as to the mode in which offences recognised in the Constitution are to be brought before the Assembly, believes that the action of the Assembly at Detroit, which is sanctioned by the majority, was a violation both of the letter and spirit of the Constitution of the Church. In his judgment, it is the assertion of a principle which, if carried out to its legitimate results, would place the rights and character of every minister and private member of the Church in the hands of an irresponsible court, governed by prejudice and caprice, and acting without regard to the written Constitution by which all profess to be controlled. It would justify a Southern Session or Presbytery in disciplining a member or minister for Abolition sentiments, if the promulgation of such views should be regarded as pernicious in their tendency, and thus inconsistent with the demands of humanity. It would subject the Millenarian or an anti-Millenarian to a prosecution for heresy, according as his Presbytery would consider the one or the other in that light. In a word, it is a principle which, if acted upon, would be utterly subversive of the foundation upon which the Presbyterian Church rests—to wit: A written Constitution, designating distinctly what, in the view of the Church, is essential to Orthodoxy and morality.

The following resolutions express the views of the undersigned, as presented in this report:

Resolved, That the General Assembly, in virtue of its advisory power, can bear its testimony against anything it may regard as a sin in the sight of God, but that testimony has no authoritative or binding effect upon their lower judicatories.

Resolved, That the General Assembly can regard nothing as heresy or an offence, in the sense in which that term is used in the Book of Discipline, which is not distinctly stated to be such in the Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church.

Resolved, That as slaveholding is not alluded to, either directly or indirectly, in the Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church, the relation itself of master and servant cannot, in any case, be a cause of discipline before any judicatory.

Resolved, That cruelties, in the common acceptation of the term, practised by those sustaining the relation of masters to servants, being directly prohibited in the Confession of Faith, may be cause of discipline, as well as when practised by those sustaining other innocent relations in life.

Resolved, That the General Assembly cannot interpret the Constitution of the Church in regard to offences, unless a case is brought before it from a lower Court, by reference, complaint or appeal; or unless the Assembly acts as a Court of Review.

Resolved, That if a judicial case, involving what the Constitution of the Church specifies as an offence, is brought regularly before the Assembly by a lower Court, it belongs to the Assembly to issue the case; and if the Assembly is well informed that a Synod countenances the prevalence of what the Confession of Faith represents as "heretical sentiments and corrupt practices," it can cite the Synod to its bar, and require it to take up the subject and consider it; but it is left with the Synod to determine whether to require the Presbytery to take further action in the matter, or to stay all further proceedings, as circumstances may require.

ANDREW H. BOYD (of Virginia).

[The subject, thus introduced, was debated for two successive days. The discussion, as usual in such bodies, was characterized by a truckling expediency on the part of Northern members claiming to represent the anti-slavery side, and by the most scandalous defences of slavery, on moral and scriptural grounds, on the part of Southern delegates; the whole revealing a state of utter moral rottenness, transcending the conception even of that class of Abolitionists usually deemed fanatical and ultra. We shall endeavour to give extracts from this debate hereafter. The Assembly adopted the Majority Report, and ordered that of the Minority to be inserted in the Minutes. And this is all that the great New School Presbyterian Church could do for the millions of God's imbruted and enslaved children. In view of this result, the *New York Evangelist*—the organ of the denomination—with characteristic self-complacency and effrontery, says:]

The subject of slavery occupied a large space in the deliberations of the Assembly, and no restraint, either upon the extent or the freedom of utterance, was thought of; yet the agitation which the subject never fails to excite did not once transcend the bounds of Christian courtesy, or interrupt the flow of good feeling and confidence. (!!) The result, whether or not any advance has been made towards a clearer understanding of the question, or towards any greater unanimity of views, has at least shown the Assembly's power to discuss the most exciting of subjects without heat or bitterness, and its ability to grapple, without fear or danger, with questions from which other bodies shrink as from the ignition of a power magazine. This alone is a great point gained.(!!) It is a great comfort to be free from fear; and in this case the exorcism has been performed legitimately. It is the fruit of Christian principle and feeling. (!!) The fear of sectional divisions and the peril of mutual misunderstandings have been materially lessened by the debate; while the dignity and ability which characterized it formed a spectacle which our Old School brethren and the New York public have contemplated without any injury. Though we do not see that much new light has been thrown upon the subject, we do not regret the debate. It has tested anew the strength of our denominational ties, and given an utterance to the views of the vast majority of the Church on the Constitutional powers of the Assembly, which will relieve many minds, and write upon our front anew our proper anti-slavery inscription. (!!)

[While the *Evangelist* is thus endeavouring to make Northern Presbyterians believe that the Church wears a "proper anti-slavery inscription" on its front, the man-stealing representatives of the Southern Presbyteries have sent forth the following address to their constituents, declaring that the position of the body, so far as it may *seem* to hostile to slavery, amounts to nothing, and that, in their judgment, "THE ACTION OF THE ASSEMBLY, VIEWED AS A WHOLE, IS FAVOURABLE TO THE SOUTH!"]

TO THE MINISTERS AND MEMBERS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH RESIDING IN THE SLAVEHOLDING STATES:

DEAR BRETHREN: The undersigned, members of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church which has just closed its sessions in the City of New York, feel it incumbent on them to address you with reference to the recent action of the General Assembly on the subject of slavery, and to make such suggestions as to our future course as the circumstances in which we are placed seem to demand. We are apprehensive that the action of the Assembly may be misunderstood. The resolution passed by the Assembly at Detroit is very ambiguous. As its indorsement by the recent Assembly is the only part of its action on this subject to which exception can be taken, we would call your attention to the true import of this resolution.

1. The resolution clearly implies that slaveholding is not a *sin per se*, and cannot, therefore, on this ground, be made a subject of discipline. The exceptionable cases referred to necessarily involve the idea that slaveholding—the mere relation of master and servant—is not wrong in itself. For if it was a *sin per se*, there could be no case of slaveholding that could be justified. We are assured that the Committee who brought in the majority report that was adopted by the Assembly have no sympathy with the sentiment that slaveholding is sinful *in itself*. And this, doubtless, was the opinion of the vast majority of the Assembly. The General Assembly of our Church never has sanctioned the sentiment that the relation of master and servant is a *sin per se*. The nearest approximation to this opinion is found in the resolutions of the Assembly, passed in 1818. But, that it was not the intention of the Assembly of 1818 to express such an opinion, is evident, from the fact that those resolutions were adopted by a unanimous vote—such men as Dr. George Baxter and Dr. Conrad Speece, of Virginia, voting for them.

2. The resolutions passed at Detroit imply that slaveholding is a sin, and can be made cause for discipline *only* when it violates the obligations of guardianship and the demands of humanity. We presume that every slaveholder in the land will admit that if slaveholding, in any case, is inconsistent with the interests of *humanity*—including under the term humanity the coloured and white population—it is a sin in the sight of God. In our judgment, there is no relation in life that would not be sinful, if it is incompatible with the interests of humanity. We believe that, in the circumstances in which the coloured population exist in the slaveholding States, the law of love demands that the relation of master and servant should exist. We do not think, therefore, that there is any objection to the Detroit resolution, sanctioned by the recent Assembly, because it asserts that slaveholding is a sin if the interests of humanity are affected by it. It is a truism to which we are persuaded no slaveholder will withhold his assent. This interpretation of the Detroit resolution is not only authorized by the language of the resolution, but also by the statements of some of its most prominent advocates.

3. The resolution adopted at Detroit, and indorsed by the recent Assembly, is not a law of the Church. It expresses the sentiment of the Assembly; but it has no more authoritative effect than the opinion of any other body of pious and intelligent men. The report passed by the Assembly says that the doctrine set forth at Detroit was "set forth, simply, as a doctrine, *and not as a law or judicial decision.*" Whatever, then, may be the sentiment expressed, it is important to notice that this opinion of the Assembly has no binding effect. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, unlike the Methodist General Conference or Episcopal Convention, has no power to make laws. The Presbyteries are the only law-making power in the Presbyterian Church.

4. According to the action of the late Assembly, if a case of slaveholding *that is inconsistent with the demands of humanity* ever occurs, there can be no disciplinary action on the part of the Assembly, unless a case is brought before it from a lower court by reference, complaint or appeal, or unless a Synod is cited to answer to the charge of delinquency in duty. It is like any other case of discipline brought before the Assembly for decision. It must come primarily from a session in the case of a private member, and from a Presbytery in the case of a minister. There is no intimation in the report adopted by the Assembly that a case will occur to call for action on the part of a lower judicatory; and we who are acquainted with the operations of the system of slavery need have no more fear of a case of slaveholding inconsistent with the demands of humanity occurring among us than of one in any other relation in life. It would be unjust to infer from the action of the Assembly that it looks to actual discipline. We are assured that no such idea was entertained either by the Committee who introduced the report or by the Assembly. The design was simply to state the course which the Assembly must pursue, if a case of slaveholding inconsistent with the interests of humanity should ever occur. It is neither expressed nor implied that there will ever be occasion for the Assembly to act in a judicial case brought before it from a lower Court, or in the citation of Synods. The undersigned objected to the adoption of the report of the Committee, not because they did not believe that slaveholding, like every other relation in life, would be a sin in the sight of God if it contravened the interests of humanity, nor because they differed from the Committee as to the mode in which offences generally are to be treated by the Assembly, but because they believed the Constitution does not recognise the right in any court to regard that as an offence to which no allusion is made in the Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church.

5. In our judgment, the action of the Assembly, viewed as a whole, is favourable to the South—inasmuch as it expresses the Constitutional principles by which anything that may be regarded as an offence is to be brought before the Assembly. Doubtless many who have been disposed to agitate the slavery question in the Assembly have had most erroneous views as to the powers of that body over the subject. It is now apparent that the Assembly has gone as far as the Constitution will allow, unless it acts judicially. Its opinion in regard to the system of slavery has been expressed repeatedly within the last sixty years, and we may, therefore, reasonably expect the cessation of all declaratory resolutions. We have not the slightest apprehension of disciplinary action being taken in any of the lower courts or in the Assembly. We know there is no ground for such action, and for this reason we have no apprehension of the Assembly being called upon to act judicially on the subject of slaveholding.

6. The undersigned, representing in the recent Assembly the Presbyteries in the slaveholding States, are unanimous in the opinion that there is no occasion for alienation or separation on the part of our churches. It is true the subject of slavery has been discussed in the Assembly, and, from the very nature of a deliberative body, it may be impossible always to prevent its introduction into the judicatories of the Church. But, in regard to the late discussion in the Assembly, it is important to notice that it was designed to settle, as far as an expression of an opinion by the Assembly would do it, the constitutional powers of that judicatory over the subject—which could not be done without discussion; and that a very considerable part of the time devoted to this discussion was occupied by Southern men. So long as the subject of slavery is agitated in the country, we may expect that a few in every Church will, sooner or later, seek to agitate it in the judicatories of the Church. No Church in the land can be exempt from it. We believe that our Church, in this respect, occupies as safe a position as any other branch of the Church in this country. We are persuaded there are but few who desire the introduction of the slavery question into the Church. This is evident from the fact that the average number of memorials on the subject sent to the Assembly for the last eight or ten years has not been more than a half dozen, notwithstanding we have one hundred and eight Presbyteries, and although the country has been shaken to its centre by this agitation.

We would, therefore, say to our brethren in the slaveholding States, let us unitedly stand by our beloved Church in all its interests. Let there be no alienations or dissensions amongst us. Let no one imagine that by changing his ecclesiastical connections he can get rid of this agitation entirely in the Church judicatories. In some churches it may be suppressed for a brief period. But it cannot be so always. These very churches, where the subject has not been particularly discussed for a few years, have given the strongest testimony against the system of slavery. And the most superficial acquaintance with them will satisfy any candid man that they entertain the same views, and are constantly liable to the introduction of the subject into their judicatories. We believe that nine-tenths of our membership desire no further discussion of the question, and that we may now lay aside all apprehensions as to any necessity for a separation on our part. If the Assembly should hereafter take any steps towards the exercise of discipline on account of slaveholding—further at least than the decision of a judicial case brought from a lower Court—or if, in deciding a judicial case, it should conclude that the relation of master and servant, in any case, is an offence, we shall unitedly dissolve our connection with that body. We shall not join any other branch of the Church that has a Northern connection, and where we should be constantly liable to the necessity of another separation. But we should form a Southern organization, and devote our energies to the great work of diffusing the principles of our common Christianity throughout the region where God has cast our lot. At present, however, we repeat, there is no necessity for pursuing such a course, nor do we anticipate that it will ever occur. We belong to a branch of the Church whose distinguishing principles are worthy of our admiration. God grant that we may ever continue a united Church, with the law and the Constitution as the basis of all our action, and labouring for the good of our common country and the entire family of man.

Synod of Virginia.
Rev. A. H. BOYD, D.D., SAMUEL MATHEWS,
Rev. A. G. CARUTHERS, SAMUEL M. PRICE,
Rev. C. H. READ.

Synod of Missouri.
Rev. W. H. PARKS, Rev. S. G. M. BEEBF,
Rev. G. W. PHILLIPS, Rev. W. H. SMITH,
SAMUEL MCAFEE.

Synod of Kentucky.
Rev. A. H. CURRIER, G. R. THORNTON,
Rev. W. T. MCELROY, G. P. LAPSLEY.

Synod of Tennessee.
Rev. G. M. CALDWELL, Rev. G. KING,
Rev. G. LYONS, T. W. TURLEY,
Rev. T. R. BRADSHAW, T. RHEA,
W. N. BICKNELL, M.D.,

Synod of West Tennessee.
Rev. A. H. DASHIELL, D.D., DONALD CAMERON,
Rev. F. A. ROSS, D.D., W. L. WATKINS,
C. N. ORDWAY.

Synod of Mississippi.
Rev. G. MCCAMPBELL, Rev. H. WOODS,
Rev. W. E. HOLLEY, Rev. G. H. YIVLEY,
DUKE AsKEN.

FROM VIRGINIA.—A fugitive slave passed through this city, from Virginia, on Wednesday last, on his passage to Canada. He had been thirteen days working his way thus far, and appeared to be in good health and spirits. His value in Virginia would not be short of $1,000, for he was a good-looking fellow; but the advertisement in the Virginia papers will not bring him back now.—*Newburyport Herald, May 3.*

MR. BROOKS AND SENATOR WILSON.

BELOW will be found the correspondence between Mr. Brooks, who has lately made himself so notorious, and Mr. Wilson of the United States Senate.

Mr. Wilson's reply, declining the offer of a duel, does him honour. Holding the practice of duelling, like the institution of slavery, to be a relic of a barbarous condition of the human race, he leaves it to those communities the civilization of which is yet to be perfected by the abolition of both. He will neither violate the law nor offend against the convictions of his conscience.

It is remarkable that Brooks, of whom Mr. Wilson has said infinitely severer things than Mr. Sumner said of Mr. Butler, allows the insult to pass unavenged. Probably he expects to find Mr. Wilson on his guard.

In the meantime, he contents himself with challenging one who, it is well known, does not fight duels—a cheaper method than assaulting a man who is prepared for him, and who holds the doctrine of self-defence in its broadest sense.—*Evening Post.*

MR. BROOKS TO SENATOR WILSON.

FLINT'S HOTEL, May 27, 1856.

SIR: In the Senate to-day, when referring to the collision with Mr. Sumner, you spoke of my conduct as "cowardly," thus making yourself an arbiter of true courage.

In debate in the Senate heretofore, you declared yourself *responsible for what you might say there and elsewhere.*

I, therefore, hold myself at liberty, by this note, to request that you will inform me, without delay, *where* and *when*, outside of this District, a further note will find you.

Respectfully, &c., P. S. BROOKS.

Hon. Henry Wilson.

SENATOR WILSON TO MR. BROOKS.

WASHINGTON, May 29, 10 1-2 o'clock.

HON. P. S. BROOKS—*Sir:* Your note of the 27th inst. was placed in my hands by your friend, George Lane, at twenty minutes past ten this morning.

I characterized on the floor of the Senate the assault upon my colleague as "brutal, murderous and cowardly." I thought so then—I think so now. I have no qualifications whatever to make in regard to those words.

I have never entertained or expressed in the Senate or elsewhere the idea of personal responsibility in the sense of the duellist. I have always regarded duelling as the lingering relic of a barbarous civilization, which the law of the country has branded as a crime. While, therefore, I religiously believe in the right of self-defence, in its broadest sense, the law of my country and the matured convictions of my whole life alike forbid me to meet you for the purpose indicated in your letter.

Your obedient servant, HENRY WILSON.

LETTER FROM JOSIAH QUINCY, SENIOR.

THE following letter, sent to the presiding officer of the Unitarian Festival, recently held in Boston, by the venerable Josiah Quincy, Senior, now in the *eighty-fifth year* of his age, will be read with interest:

E. R. HOAR, Esq.—*Sir:* I have received your letter, inviting me to attend the Unitarian Festival, and expressing the gratification it would give you "to see and hear me on that occasion." It would give me great pleasure to comply with your request, did not the very tenor of your letter preclude me from it. I perceive that should I attend, *a speech* will be expected from me. But, sir, it would be impossible for me to utter my opinions on the subject with which my heart is full, without crossing the policy of some, offending the prejudices of others, and making, perhaps, the whole company apprehend that I had arrived at that period of second childhood which is sometimes incident to old age.

My mind is in no state to receive pleasure from social scenes and friendly intercourse. I can think or speak of nothing but of the outrages of slaveholders at Kansas, and the outrages of slaveholders at Washington—outrages, which, if not met in the spirit of our fathers of the revolution (and I see no sign that they will be), our liberties are but a name, and our Union proves a curse. These outrages constitute a series of iniquitously contrived, well-connected, compact tissues, of which

The Fugitive Slave law was the first;

The repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the second;

The invasion of Kansas, and the taking the ballot-boxes by storm, by a mob of slaveholders, the third;

The encouragement of this sacrilegious foray against the right of free suffrage, and the ultimate support of it by the national executive and military arm, the fourth.

The hostile irruption of two members of Congress, into the Senate Chamber of the United States, openly armed with deadly bludgeons, and, probably, secretly, according to the habits of their breed, with bowie-knives and revolvers, and the prostrating on the floor with their bludgeons a Senator of the United States, sitting peaceably in his seat, unconscious of danger, and from his position incapable of defence, inflicting upon him blows, until he sunk, senseless, under them, and which, if they do not prove mortal, it was not for want of malignant intent in the cowardly assassins—and all this for words publicly spoken in the Senate, in the course of debate, allowed by its presiding officer to be spoken, and exceeding not one hair's breadth any line of truth or duty. This is the fifth and the climax of this series of outrages, unparalleled, nefarious and brutal.

Such are the facts—such are the outrages—a series of them, which ought to ring through every city and field, through every palace and cottage of the free States—which ought to fly, like the fiery cross on the highlands of Scotland, over the mountains and through the valleys of the free States, startling the sleeping, rousing the thoughtless, uniting the free clans, and enkindling whatever glimmering spark yet remains of the feeling and spirit which, in former times, entitled the inhabitants of the free States to the character of patriots, and fearless, far-seeing statesmen. But, alas! sir, I see no principle of vitality in what is called freedom in these times. I see divisions enough, and parties enough—I see every *whim* setting up for itself and calling and expecting all the rest of the world to follow in its train. But of a thoughtful, concentrated, determined principle of united action, suited to the occasion, which, spurning the desire of place and the hope of emolument, and the hankering for office, and actuated solely for the advance of public good and general welfare, I see nothing. The palsy of death rests on the spirit of freedom in the so-called "free States"

In my opinion, it is time to speak on the house-top what every man who is worthy of the name of freeman utters in his chamber and feels in his heart. By a series of corruption, intrigue and cunning—bribing the high by appointments of State, the low by the hope of emoluments; playing between the parties of the free States, and counteracting one by the other; by flattering the vain, paying the mean and rewarding the subservient—the slaveholders have, in the course of fifty years, usurped the whole constitutional powers of the Union, have possessed themselves of the executive chair, of the halls of Congress, of the national courts of justice and of the military arm, leaving nothing of hope to the spirit of freedom in the free States, but public speech in the legislature and the ballot-box. The one a slaveholder's mob is crushing in Kansas, the other a deputation from the slaveholders of the House of Representatives have attempted to crush by a slaveholder's bludgeon.

My heart is too full. If I should pour forth all that is in it, both paper and time would fail me.

Truly, I am yours, JOSIAH QUINCY.

Quincy, 27th May, 1856.

LATEST FROM KANSAS.

Correspondence of The Tribune.

LEAVENWORTH, Saturday, May 24, 1856.

THE steamer Polar Star has just arrived, bringing Gov. Robinson, under charge of a Sheriff's *possé*. I have just been with him; he looks well, and perfectly composed. They are taking him to Lecompton. He was taken up from Lexington through the Territory, but when he arrived at Franklin the Governor ordered that he be taken back, as he could not pass Lawrence in safety. (This was a mere dodge.) He was then taken back among the Borderers again; taken through Westport and Kansas City, and up the Missouri River, past Parkville, &c. If the design was to expose him to any lawless attack, it has failed.

Last night there was a current rumour that the Committee was to be attacked, but so far there has been nothing of the kind. The pro-slavery press in the Territory are rabid against Messrs. Howard and Sherman. They publish the most monstrous lies against them continually, and the object is evidently to throw a slur on proceedings which they cannot find evidence to invalidate. For this purpose, Gen. Whitfield and the gentlemen he has employed as counsel have made speeches every day to hinder the Commission, and create the impression on the fire-eaters around that they are used unfairly. They first demand that the Commission will allow them to proceed in a particular way, and then they take a course directly the reverse, and demand that they be allowed to proceed in such a way. Then they make statements of positions they say the Commission have taken previously, all of which have no foundation in fact. One object of this I suspect to be to expose Messrs. Sherman and Howard to the virulence of the pro-slavery borderers. Meanwhile, the Commission proceeds calmly on its work.

I have no definite information from Lawrence since I wrote last. There was a rumour that another still more brutal attack had been made upon it just before the U. S. troops arrived. The Free State people would rise and drive the marauding mob out of the Territory, but the troops are now ranged in force along the Kaw, and ready to prevent anything of the kind.

"Law and Order" is still triumphant. "We will subdue you," so far realized. P.

WASHINGTON, Saturday, May 31, 1856.

Mr. Fogg, the Secretary of the Kansas Commission, arrived in this city last night. He left Leavenworth on Saturday last, where the Commission were in session. He fully confirms the accounts of the sacking of Lawrence, the burning and destruction of property and general pillage described in the accounts already published. He says a perfect system of terrorism is established throughout the Territory. The object of the Territorial authorities and leaders of the slavery party being to intimidate and drive out the Free State men by rendering their property and persons totally insecure, and to prevent others from coming. Theft and open robberies of cattle, horses and all moveables, throughout the Territory, are daily made, and the person of every Free State man is liable on every exposure to the bullet of the assassin. It is expected the Commission will get through with their labours during the month of June. Shannon is said to be a mere tool in the hands of the Georgians and Carolinians. Notwithstanding what has occurred, the Free State men are now judged to comprise three-fourths of the whole population.

By Telegraph.

CHICAGO, Tuesday, June 3, 1856.

Our dates from Lawrence are to the 25th of May.

The correspondent of *The Chicago Tribune* sends a list of the property destroyed at Lawrence on the 1st ult., amounting to $130,000. Governor Shannon issued an order calling on the troops at 8 o'clock, on the morning of the 22d.

A gentleman, just arrived, reports that the difficulty mentioned as occurring at Possawatomie Creek took place at Osawatomie. The quarrel arose from depredations committed by the pro-slavery men on the cattle of the Free State men.

On the 26th, some pro-slavery men seized a Free State man and proceeded to hang him, when his wife fled and aroused the neighbours, who came to his rescue. A fight ensued, and five pro-slavery and two Free State men were killed.

A force of sixty men organized at Westport, Missouri, on the 27th ult., and proceeded to Osawatomie.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 7, 1856.

DR. ADAMS AND THE TRACT SOCIETY.

ONE of the signs which mark how widely and deeply our country is demoralised by slavery is seen in the fact that, when a right thing chances to be done in relation to it, even by the representatives of the popular religion, it is done for a wrong reason. We have now to mention an instance of this sort, in the recent exclusion of Dr. Nehemiah Adams from the Executive Committee of the American Tract Society in Boston.

This Society assembled on Tuesday, May 27th, at the Old South Chapel, and, after prayer by Dr. Stow (pastor of the Baptist church in Rowe street, whose pews can be bought only by "respectable white persons"), and the transaction of some preliminary business, it was voted to proceed to the election of officers.

"Dr. Kirk rose and called attention to the fact that on many of the tickets the name of Rev. Dr. Adams was left out, and Mr. Stone's name substituted. Now, this was a chastisement, or it was not, of Dr. Adams, for having written that book.

"On motion, the balloting was stopped until this subject should be concluded.

"Dr. Kirk continued; he did not believe Dr. A. should be chastised, for he had but done his duty so far as this Society had concern, and he had so much faith in him that he would be glad to see him elected on the Publishing Board in New York. To remove him would be injurious to the cause.

"Rev. Mr. Drummond, of Maine, believed that it was time we had a Board of Managers who would issue tracts relating to slavery and its evils. Dr. Adams had become obnoxious to many, and he was not willing, by a reëlection of him, to sanction his book. It was time the Society took a distinct stand on this question.

"Rev. Mr. Dexter, of Pine street Church, had a ticket in his hand, in which the name of Mr. Stone appeared, which he intended to vote. Both men he respected equally; but when the question came up on the election of an Executive Committee, he did not wish to place thereon either an Abolitionist or an extremist on the other side—and no one could go further conscientiously in support of Southern institutions than the author of a South-Side View of Slavery. He believed Dr. Adams conscientious, but this was a new question—not shall we reëlect the old Board, but who shall be our officers for the next year.

"Rev. Mr. Drummond resumed. He knew of one generous, moderate man in Pennsylvania, who had said he would never give anything more of his hundreds to the Tract Society while the author of that book was connected with its government—for he could not so endorse that defence of slavery. Dr. A. was a noble man, a high-minded man, one of learning and piety, but in this connection it would be better to dispense with him.

"Mr. Abbott, of Duxbury, did not think it was just to a man who had always done his duty well thus to discuss his character, and attempt to throw him aside. One would think we had come here to discuss the slavery question alone.

"Rev. Mr. Adams, of Malden, believed the simple question was whether New England should be represented properly; and because we did not think Dr. A. represented our sentiments and views on slavery, was it any disrespect to him because we did not elect him? New England was strongly, not rapidly or immoderately, opposed to slavery extension, and on that ground Dr. A. could not represent it.

"Rev. Mr. Fessenden, of Rockland, Me., was surprised that votes could not be circulated here without having Dr. Kirk discuss the character of the candidates or select one of them alone for discussion—as if we had no right to circulate tickets and vote for whom we pleased. Certainly we might have perfect confidence in Dr. A., and yet not vote for him to represent us on a particular point. He would thank no man to question his motives, and in return he would request all men to pause before they arraigned him for the manner in which he voted. Let it be remembered, too, that this discussion was not brought up by the men who intended to vote for Dr. Stone.

"Rev. Mr. Wolcott, of Providence, believed the Society was called upon to grapple with the question of slavery, and we wanted a man on the Publishing Committee who represented New England on this subject, so that we certainly could not vote for the author of that book to represent us."

The meeting, after some further debate, during which Dr. Adams strongly urged his own reëlection, on the ground, among others, that "he had the confidence of the South," proceeded to vote for officers. There were two tickets, the only difference between which was, that on one was the name of Rev. Dr. Nehemiah Adams, and on the other the name of Rev. A. L. Stone was substituted.

The Committee reported that the old Board was reëlected unanimously, with the exception of Rev. Dr. Adams. On the contested point, the vote stood,

Whole number of votes	99
Necessary to a choice	50
Rev. Dr. Adams had	43
Rev. A. L. Stone had	56

and was declared to be elected.

Of course, a movement like this, in the right direction, must gratify the opponents, as well as disconcert and rebuke the advocates, of slavery. But our business, as Abolitionists, is to look critically at this transaction, estimate its just value and significance, and see whether it indicates anything like repentance or reformation in a body which has held, up to this time, a position auxiliary to slavery.

If the Tract Society's operations were conducted in advancement of the Christian, instead of the American, religion, and if its members were really solicitous that it should "promote the interests of vital godliness and good morals," they would have voted *unanimously* for the exclusion of Dr. Adams, on the following grounds:

Whereas, Dr. Adams distinctly takes and persistently holds the position that a Christian may buy another Christian and thus acquire the right to hold him as a piece of property, that he may keep him enrolled among his goods and chattels, and subject to the consequences of such enrolment, that he may compel him to work without his own consent either to the work itself or the compensation properly belonging to it, and that he may give or sell him, as property, to any one he pleases, thus transferring a real ownership, which may be used or again transferred at the buyer's pleasure—

And whereas he distinctly takes and persistently holds the position that God authorizes, and that Christianity allows, such purchase and ownership and sale of one Christian by another—

And whereas it is obvious that this position is at once a gross libel upon the character of our Heavenly Father, and a reversal of the system taught us by his son Jesus Christ, and ruinous to "the interests of vital godliness," and utterly subversive of "good morals"—

And whereas the holder of such opinions, having renounced and denied the very essence of Christianity, namely, the recognition of a just and good God, who enjoins justice and goodness upon his creatures, necessarily shows himself incompetent to decide as to what publications will, and what will not, "promote the interests of vital godliness and good morals"; therefore,

Resolved, That the Rev. Dr. Adams be removed from the Executive Committee, as being incompetent to its work, because apostate from its principles.

Our position is that a vote substantially like this would have been unanimously passed if the Tract Society were doing a Christian work in a Christian manner. Instead of this, in an unusually large meeting of voters, we find them unanimous in the opposite direction, some declaring and *the rest admitting*, Dr. Adams to be a thoroughly pious and Christian man, while the bare majority which displaced him did so only on the ground that he did not represent their *opinions* so well as the other candidate. Not a member of the Tract Society even intimated that the attempt to justify slavery by religious considerations, and to represent God and Christianity as upholding it, was reproachful to God, libellous to Christianity, and sufficient proof of unfitness for the work of selecting religious tracts. It was not at all that Dr. Adams was unfit, but that Mr. Stone was *preferable*, that the former was refused by a bare majority, fifty-six to forty-three.

Suppose that Dr. Adams's book, instead of denying slavery to be a sin, had denied, at equal length and with equal thoroughness, that men were born totally depraved; that *that* position had been before the public for a year, and that Dr. Adams continued to defend it! Do you think that *then* we should have had a mere preference, by a bare majority, of some other brother in the same connection, with an express admission of Dr. Adams's Christian character? Would the commendations of Dr. Heman Humphrey and Dr. Worcester, of Salem, and of the New York *Observer*, *then* have been forthcoming?

To enable our readers to understand how merely superficial is this rejection of Dr. Adams, and how far it is from denoting any reformation in the Tract Society, one or two more facts must be mentioned.

There are two Societies, one in Boston and one in New York, each calling itself "The American Tract Society." Of these the former was first founded, having been in operation a dozen years, more or less, before the establishment of the New York Society. The latter adopted the tracts already published of the Boston Society as a basis of operations, and then took upon itself the whole business of publishing for both Societies, and the Boston depository has ever since been supplied from the New York depository. Each Society has its own board of officers, and Dr. Adams was chosen on the Executive Committee of both Societies. His displacement from the Boston committee does not in the least affect his position on the New York one. But the peculiarity of the affair is that the Boston Society, which has dropped him, does not publish any tracts of its own, but supplies itself from the Depository of the New York Society, which retains him. So the distributors of tracts, whether in Boston or New York or elsewhere, will still enjoy whatever advantage there may be in Dr. Adams's supervision, and must still suffer the inconvenience of his absolute censorship over all matter of an anti-slavery cast in the manuscripts offered to the Tract Society.

THE ASSAULT ON MR. SUMNER.

THE dastardly and murderous outrage upon Mr. Sumner has awakened, throughout the North, an intense indignation, which finds vent in public meetings and through the press. Our whole space would not suffice to contain even the resolutions that have been passed in the different cities and towns of the free States, to say nothing of the speeches made by men of mark and influence, who have long travelled in the beaten path of a blind conservatism. No previous event—not even the repeal of the Missouri Compromise—has awakened so deep a feeling of hostility to the Slave Power as this exhibition of ruffianism on the floor of the Senate, which is justified by the almost unanimous voice of the Southern Press. Ex-Governor Washburn, of Massachusetts—one of those small men who never dare to obey an honest impulse lest they should violate some rule of conventional propriety—refused to take part in the Indignation Meeting at Worcester on the ground that as he was Law Lecturer in Harvard College, his appearance on such an occasion might compromise that venerable institution! His townsmen, on being informed of the nature of his excuse, expressed their contempt by indignant hisses; and the poor man, seeing what a mistake he had made, and that the officers and students in all the leading Colleges at the North were making haste to denounce the outrage, wrote a letter of explanation, which only served to make his own folly and blindness the more conspicuous. Edward Everett, thinking there would n't be much of a storm, put himself on his dignity as no longer in public life, and refused to take part in the Boston demonstration. When the Senate of Connecticut reconsidered its invitation to him to deliver before the Legislature his oration on Washington, he, too, was brought to realize that he had committed a blunder; and so, in delivering his oration at Taunton, on Monday evening, he took occasion to utter the following piece of sentimentalism:

"But, with the satisfaction which I feel in addressing you at this time are mingled feelings of the profoundest anxiety and grief. A sadness, which I strive in vain to repress, overwhelms me at thought of the occurrences of the past week, and a serious apprehension forces itself upon my mind that events are even now in train, with an impulse too mighty to be resisted, which will cause our beloved country to shed tears of blood through all her borders for generations yet to come. The civil war, with its horrid train of fire and slaughter, carried on without the slightest provocation against the infant settlements of our brethren on the frontier of the Union, the worse than civil war which, after raging for months unrebuked at the Capitol of the Union, has, at length, with a lawless violence, of which I know no examples in the annals of constitutional government, stained the floor of the Senate chamber with the blood of a defenceless man, and he a Senator from Massachusetts.

"Oh! my good friends, these are events which, for the good name, the peace, the safety of the country, it were well worth all the gold of California to blot from the record of the past week.

"They sicken the heart of the patriot, of the good citizen, of the Christian; they awaken a gloomy doubt whether the toils, the sacrifices and the sufferings our fathers endured, for the sake of founding a brighter, a purer and a freer civilization on this western continent than the world had yet seen, have not been endured in vain.

"For myself, my friends, they fill me with sorrow 'too deep for tears.' I am not ashamed of the weakness, for I sorrow not for myself.

"My few remaining years are running too rapidly to a close to allow me to attach much importance to anything this side of the grave which concerns me individually, but I sorrow, beyond the power of words to express, for the objects of affection which I shall leave behind—for my children—for my country—and God is my witness, if by laying down my life at this hour I could undo what has been done the last two years, beginning with the disastrous repeal of the Missouri Compromise to embitter the different sections of country against each other, and weaken the ties which unite them, I would willingly and cheerfully make the sacrifice.

"Did I not think there is a healing charm in the name of Washington—that attachment and veneration for his character is almost the only kindly sentiment that pervades the whole country, and that, in the contemplation of that character, there is a spirit of wisdom to kindle, and of love to soothe and unite, I would even now throw myself upon your intelligence to excuse me from the duty of the evening."

Mark! Mr. Everett, in this paroxysm of patriotic grief, would only "undo what has been done the last two years," since his own retirement from the political arena. He has no tear to shed in view of his own guilty participancy in the deeds of which these later events are only the natural fruits.

Mr. Sumner, when last heard from, was mending slowly. His wounds, however, are more severe than was at first supposed, and he is by no means out of danger. He will be removed to the country as soon as his condition will permit. It will be many weeks, at the best, before he can resume his Senatorial duties.

LET LIBERTY AND SLAVERY DIVIDE.

"WHAT fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness? and what concord hath Christ with Belial?" To the following form of a petition, which has been prepared for immediate and general circulation, it is earnestly desired that every man and woman aspiring after freedom should affix their signatures without delay, and transmit it to Washington:

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:

That as, in the nature of things, antagonistical principles, interests, pursuits and institutions can never unite;

That an experience of more than three-score years having demonstrated that there can be no real union between the North and the South, but, on the contrary, ever increasing alienation and strife, at the imminent hazard of civil war, in consequence of their conflicting views in relation to freedom and slavery;

That the South having declared it to be not only her right and purpose to eternize her slave system where it now exists, but to extend it over all the territories that now belong or may hereafter be annexed to the Republic, come what may; and having outlawed from her soil the entire free coloured population of the North, made it perilous for any Northern white citizen to exercise his constitutional right of freedom of speech in that section of the country, and even in the national capital, and proclaimed her hostility to all free institutions universally;

We, therefore, believe that the time has come for a new arrangement of elements so conflictive, of interests so irreconcileable, of institutions so incongruous; and we earnestly request Congress, at its present session, to take such initiatory measures for the speedy, peaceful and equitable dissolution of the existing Union as the exigencies of the case may require—leaving the South to depend upon her own resources, and to take all the responsibility in the maintenance of her slave system, and the North to organise an independent government in accordance with her own ideas of justice and the rights of man.

New England Anti-Slavery Convention.

THE annual New England Anti-Slavery Convention assembled at the Melodeon in Boston, on Tuesday, May 27th, and was called to order, at half-past 10 o'clock, by Samuel May, Jr., who, on behalf of the Committee of Arrangements, proposed that FRANCIS JACKSON be requested to preside over the deliberations of the Convention. The unanimous AYE of the Convention confirmed the selection.

Mr. Jackson, saying that he should have much preferred that some other person should occupy the place, expressed his readiness always to serve the Convention and the Cause.

Mr. May, from the Committee of Arrangements, reported the remaining officers and committees of the Convention, as follows:

Vice-Presidents—Edmund Quincy, of Massachusetts; Peter Libby, of Maine; Jehiel Claflin, of New Hampshire; Asa Fairbanks, of Rhode Island; James B. Whitcomb, of Connecticut; Robert Purvis, of Pennsylvania; Effingham L. Capron, of Worcester; Robert Hassall, of Haverhill; J. B. Swazey, of Newburyport; Ebenezer D. Draper, of Milford.

Secretaries—William H. Fish, Samuel May, Jr., and A. M. Powell.

Committee on Finance—Lewis Ford, Joseph A. Howland, Elbridge Sprague, Nathaniel B. Spooner, Sallie Holley, Reuben H. Ober.

Business Committee—William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Parker Pillsbury, Marius R. Robinson, Maria W. Chapman, Eliza L. Follen, Charles Lenox Remond, S. S. Foster, Andrew T. Foss, Charles C. Burleigh.

The Convention unanimously accepted the proposed organization, and the persons named were elected accordingly.

Rev. ROBERT HASSALL, of Haverhill, offered a most fervent and impressive prayer, full of the spirit of universal liberty.

The Business Committee having retired for consultation, the Convention was addressed by Samuel May, Jr., who gave a brief account of the meeting held in Park Street Church, last Sunday evening. It was the first appearance in Boston of the "Southern Aid Society"—a Society organized in New York city, a few years since, for the purpose of supplying the South with just such a pro-slavery Gospel as it demands—for the purpose of supporting such missionaries in the slaveholding States as may be appointed by the slaveholders themselves; and which justifies its existence by the fact that the South has become suspicious of the agents and preachers sent forth by the Home Missionary Association, and other similar Societies. Mr. May mentioned Rev. Drs. Blagden, Nehemiah Adams, Waterbury, and Joel Parker, as actors in the late meeting; also, Rev. Harvey Woods, of Mississippi, who declared himself a slaveholder, and hoped there would be no strife between the Christians of the North and the Christians of the South. Mr. May said he regarded the Southern Aid Society as the most brazen-faced, impudent, heartless, God-defying association among all the associations of the land, whether professedly religious or otherwise.

J. C. CLUER commented upon the various newspaper reports of the doings of the Society, and expressed his scorn of the hollow and hypocritical piety of the men who appeared at its late meeting. He referred to the late assault upon Charles Sumner, at Washington, with much feeling.

Mr. GARRISON, from the Committee on Business, reported the following resolutions:

1. Resolved, That this Convention fully participates in the general feeling of indignation and horror which is felt in view of the recent dastardly and murderous assault made in the Senate Chamber at Washington, upon the person of the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts, Hon. CHARLES SUMNER, by a fitting Representative of and from the lawless State of South Carolina; that, whether regard be had to the place or to the manner in which it was committed, or to the position and character of the victim, an assault characterised by greater cowardice and ruffianism, or more daring in its contempt for all that is sacred in constitutional liberty, or more comprehensively malignant against the cause of human freedom, cannot be found on the page of history; that it indicates a conspiracy, on the part of the Slave Oligarchy, to "crush out" freedom of speech on the floor of Congress, as effectually as it is done on the slave plantation, by putting in peril the life of every Northern Senator or Representative who shall dare to lift up a manly voice against executive usurpation and border ruffianism; and, therefore, that whoever shall attempt to find any justification or to frame any apology for it will reveal himself to be on a level with the base assailant of as pure, and generous, and noble a man as ever yet occupied a seat in our National Legislature.

2. Resolved, That the speech made by Mr. SUMNER, which has subjected him to this most brutal treatment, is a speech at any time worth dying for—perfect in its conception, arrangement and execution, conclusive in its argument and evidence, masterly in its exposure of executive usurpation, sublime in its moral heroism, invincible in its truthfulness, just in its personal impeachment, unsurpassed in its eloquence, and glorious in its object; that, sealed with his blood, it shall quicken the pulses of millions now living to engage in a death-grapple with the Slave Power, and go down to posterity as a rich legacy to the cause of universal liberty.

3. Resolved, That next to the meanness and baseness of the assault upon Mr. Sumner was the act of admitting his cowardly assailant to bail, by Justice Hollingshead, in the paltry sum of five hundred dollar; and next, the appointment of a committee of inquiry in the Senate, *by ballot* (on motion of Mr. Mason, of Virginia), which resulted in a choice as one-sided and unfair as personal prejudice, party rancour and pro-slavery malignity could elect, and from which nothing of honour or justice in this case is to be expected.

4. Resolved, That in case the United States House of Representatives refuse to expel Preston S. Brooks, of South Carolina, the cowardly assailant of Mr. Sumner, from his seat, and the Senate decline to take such action as that outrage imperatively demands, Massachusetts will recognise the immediate withdrawal of her Senators and Representatives, from Congress, as an evidence of true self-respect on their part, and of the highest regard for her rights and honour as a sovereign State.

5. Resolved, That the real spirit of the South is revealed in the satanic declaration of the Richmond *Whig*, that Mr. Brooks did "a good deed" in "administering to Senator Sumer, the notorious and foul-mouthed Abolitionist from Massachusetts, an elegant and effective caning"—expressing its "regret that Mr. Brooks did not employ a horsewhip or a cowhide upon his slanderous back, instead of a cane"—and also the hope that "the ball may be kept in motion," and that "Seward and others may catch it next."

6. Resolved, That no matter how personally offensive, insulting and libellous may be the language used in debate by the Southern overseers in Congress towards Northern Senators and Representatives, whose only crime is in remonstrating against the aggressions of the Slave Power upon Northern rights, it is deemed entirely parliamentary and well-deserved by the very same journals that now affect to find in Mr. SUMNER's speech strong provocation for the murderous assault upon him by one to whom no allusion had been made—showing their hypocrisy to be as detestable as their recreancy to the cause of freedom is deplorable.

7. Resolved, That we rejoice to believe in an overruling Providence, which "from seeming evil still educes good, and better thence again, and better still"; that, for every blow struck upon the head and prostrate form of the honoured SUMNER, a myriad of blows shall be inflicted upon the accursed Slave Power by the rising spirit of Liberty, sending it reeling to the earth, and ultimately to an infamous grave, beyond the possibility of a resurrection; that, by the disgust, indignation, sympathy and horror which this heinous outrage has called into existence, the discussion and excitement everywhere following it, the moral and religious forces brought into action by it, no act could be more disastrous to the bloody despotism of the South, or more fortunate for the cause of human freedom, in the final issue; thus confirming the scriptural declaration, that "the Lord giveth power to the faint, and to them that have no might he increaseth strength," and that "the work of righteousness shall be peace, and the effect of righteousness quietness and assurance for ever."

8. Resolved, That as the friends of the enslaved in this land, we have only to reply to the insolent threat of the infamous Senator from Illinois, that WE ARE NOT AND CAN NEVER BE SUBDUED; that, in this sublime struggle, animated by no party or sectional spirit, seeking the safety and welfare of all the people, vindicating the glorious truths set forth in the Declaration of Independence, and sustained by the consciousness that we are wholly in the right, we are neither to be driven back by the fear of consequences nor compelled to silence by the arm of violence; that, come what may, we declare eternal hostility to slavery as a system, and in every specific case of slaveholding, whether in States or Territories, on every foot of American soil, and will seek its immediate overthrow—trampling beneath our feet all compacts, laws and arrangements whatsoever, framed for its security or repose, and recognising no other banner as worthy the countenance of freemen except that on which is emblazoned the motto, "NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!"

9. Resolved, That a false oath is not to be taken, nor a wicked law obeyed, nor a blood-stained compact upheld; that what can be secured only by perjury or conniving at sin is not worth possessing, and not to be accepted to secure any amount of good whatever; that there is but one rule of duty, the law of God—but one object of consideration, the liberty of man—but one test of character, fidelity to principle; and that the cry of every honest man will be, "Let justice be done, though the heavens fall."

10. Resolved, That we deplore the moral blindness and inconsistency of those who are seeking to transform the anti-slavery cause into a mere territorial struggle, in accordance with the Missouri Compromise—making it no longer a question as to the liberation of four millions of imbruted slaves at the South, but only one of latitude and longitude—basing it on a corrupt bargain, and not on the rights of man—sacrificing one race for the benefit of another—and consenting to the constitutional protection of slavery in fifteen States of the Union, where it now exists, and to the outlawry of the fugitive slave in every section of the land.

11. Resolved, That slavery in a Territory is no worse a crime than slavery in a State; that Kansas is no more entitled to freedom than Carolina; and while we yield to none in zeal and effort to prevent the extension of that most hideous system, and appreciate at its true value whatever is said or done to baffle the designs of the Slave Power in regard to future territorial acquisition, we declare every other issue to be deceptive and futile, except that of the liberation of every slave, and the separation of the North from the South as a moral and religious duty, and as a sure method of effecting the speedy downfall of slavery universally.

12. Resolved, That the successive invasions of Kansas by the Missouri bandits—their seizure of the ballot-box, and usurpation of governmental authority—their horrible enactments in regard to slavery, surpassing in murderous atrocity any code yet devised by human diabolism—their numberless crimes and bloody outrages upon the persons of the free settlers of that Territory, victim after victim having been assassinated with impunity—their introduction and establishment of chattel slavery, at the point of the bowie-knife and revolver—the extensive co-operation given them by the Southern States, and now by the army of the United States, by order of the President and his Cabinet, to the utter overthow of all natural and legal rights, and the extinction of all the hopes of freedom—constitute "an assemblage of horrors" which no pencil can portray and no language express, and in comparison with which the grievances suffered by our revolutionary fathers are as dust in the balance.

13. Resolved, That the Government of the United States is in the hands of as unscrupulous and traitorous a conclave as ever yet sought to dethrone God and to crucify Liberty; that American democracy is but the synonyme for political villany intensified, toryism run to seed; that FRANKLIN PIERCE has perfidiously betrayed the liberties of the North by his ready subserviency to the Southern oligarchy, and, instead of being the lawful President of the United States, is the chief of bandits and the incarnation of "Border Ruffianism," more deserving of execration than Benedict Arnold, and more worthy of being brought to the block than Charles I.

14. Resolved, That the primary cause of the growth, extension and perpetuity of slavery—of all the heartburnings, antagonisms and feuds between the North and the South—of whatever has been oppressive, perfidious and dishonourable in our national career—is to be found in the attempt to unite Liberty and Slavery, the institutions of freedom and those of absolute despotism, the interests of freedom and those of menstealers and slavedrivers, in one compact, an experiment wild, desperate and God-defying, from the beginning, and naturally ending in the subversion of the liberties of the people, the inauguration of "Border Ruffianism" in the Presidential chair, and the complete supremacy of the Slave Power.

15. Resolved, That a Union in which one-seventh portion of the population is so much personal property; in more than one-half of which the freedom of the press and of speech is cloven down, and Lynch law is the only code by which the friends of impartial liberty are tried; which nourishes the wickedest and most tyrannical oligarchy known in any land; which demands obedience without giving protection, and renders freedom of conscience and equal rights impossible; is a Union which was "not fit to have been made," which ought not to be perpetuated, and which cannot be more accurately described than as "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell." Therefore,

16. Resolved, That to this people is fearfully applicable the language of the prophet; "Because ye have said, We have made a covenant with death, and with hell are we at agreement; when the overflowing scourge shall pass through it, it shall not come unto us; for we have made lies our refuge, and under falsehood have we hid ourselves: therefore, thus saith the Lord God, judgment will I lay to the line, and righteousness to the plummet; and the hail shall sweep away the refuge of lies, and the waters shall overflow the hiding-place; and your covenant with death shall be annulled, and your agreement with hell shall not stand; when the overflowing scourge shall pass through, then ye shall be trodden down by it."

17. Resolved, That the South having boldly thrown away her mask, and avowed her determination not only to eternize slavery on her soil, but to extend it, as her natural and constitutional right, wherever the American flag shall be carried; and proclaimed her purpose to wage deadly war against the free institutions of the North, to their utter subversion, and the enslavement of the working classes, without regard to complexional distinction or geographical boundary; and having outlawed every one who denies the right to make man the property of man, and committed innumerable outrages upon the persons and liberties of Northern citizens caught within her limits, even selling many of them into interminable bondage; no other alternative is left the North but to separate from her, or to wear the chains of degrading and abject vassalage. Therefore,

18. Resolved, That a delegated Convention of the Free States should be held, at as early a period and at a point as central as practicable, for the purpose of taking measures to effect a peaceable withdrawal from an alliance which an experience of more than three-score years has demonstrated to be as impracticable as it has been disastrous to genuine republicanism and a pure Christianity.

19. Resolved, That, to secure this desirable object, the Executive Committee of the American Anti Slavery Society is hereby respectfully requested to appoint committees of correspondence and vigilance in the several Free States, who shall be duly empowered to make all necessary arrangements to secure a full representation in the Convention aforesaid.

The reading of these resolutions was listened to with the deepest attention, and was often interrupted by applause.

Rev. Mr. HASSALL said that he had come, as many others doubtlessly came, to the city in sadness, yet not in despair—he never could despair of such a cause as ours. In reply to some of his anti-slavery friends, who frequently told him that *deeds* and not *words* are now needed, he insisted that, however much good Sharp's rifles and other deadly instrumentalities may sometimes effect, moral agitation, the preaching of the truth of God, uncompromisingly and faithfully, must be our chief reliance. The better elements of the human soul must be aroused before anything can be effectually accomplished; and this work is not to be done by force. Wrong views of the Bible, Mr. H. also insisted, lie in the way of the cause of liberty. That book is made to sanction slavery. But a different view must be presented, and the authority of the deep and humane convictions of the soul be recognised. He had his own theological opinions, but he held humanity paramount to all theologies and all sects.

ANDREW T. FOSS said he rose to give to the Convention a piece of information, which had just come to his knowledge, which he regarded as quite encouraging. At the meeting of the American Tract Society, this morning, in this city, Dr. Nehemiah Adams lost his election as a member of the Publishing Committee, and Rev. A. L. Stone was elected in his place. The vote, he was told, stood 56 for Mr. Stone to 42 for Dr. Adams. Dr. Adams appeared at the meeting, and pleaded his own case, and told his brethren that he was much the more suitable man to be on that Committee, as he had more influence at the South, and his views accorded fully with those of the Northern States. Dr. A. said that, if they dismissed him, they would reject a good friend of anti-slavery! But all would not do. The Society voted to dispense with his services.

Mr. W. L. GARRISON expressed his pleasure at the intelligence Mr. Foss had communicated. It seemed to him almost too good to be true. He hoped it would prove true, and, if so, would prove a most encouraging circumstance. Mr. G. expressed his high regard for his friend, Mr. Hassall, but differed from him in his view that, if we could all come to agree in our theology, we should be likely to be better Abolitionists.

Mr. HINTON, of England, said that that which he loved most in his native land was that Wilberforce had lived and laboured there, and that, by the labours of himself and his associates, slavery had been abolished throughout the dominions of Great Britain. He declared himself to be republican in heart, that he loved and desired liberty everywhere, that his countrymen were all mankind. He pledged himself with all his strength to the anti-slavery cause.

Mrs. ———— spoke with great earnestness of the Christian spirit and work of the anti-slavery cause, and expressed her gratitude to Mr. Garrison and others, who had laboured so faithfully in that cause.

Rev. JEHIEL CLAFLIN, of New Hampshire, raised the question whether deadly weapons should be used in carrying on the anti-slavery cause. He thought not. He had long been an uncompromising anti-slavery man, but could not fight, even for freedom.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH spoke of the case of Mr. Sumner as a foreshadowing of the fate that awaits us all if slavery should triumph. He was glad, however, that some idea of freedom was being beaten into the people through the shattered skull of the distinguished Senator. But no *new* thing had happened, he said; such cowardly and iniquitous acts—infinitely more iniquitous and cowardly acts—were daily perpetrated by the Slave Power. The ruffianism of the United States Government, acted out in Kansas, he insisted, is worse than that which struck down Mr. Sumner, and the ruffianism of the slave plantation still worse. But he hoped that such infamous outrages would yet rouse Massachusetts to action. He was often told that the question of the dissolution of the Union was only a question of time; and he thought it ought to be a question of time, but of an infinitesimal portion of time—the clock ought not to strike again before the result should come.

Adjourned to quarter before 3 o'clock.

AFTERNOON.—FRANCIS JACKSON in the chair.

ANDREW T. FOSS said that it had happened most remarkably, for many years past, that some unusual and striking occurrence had taken place just prior to our annual anti-slavery assemblage here. This year we meet while the hearts of the people are astonished and indignant at the recent murderous assault upon Charles Sumner, and while our friends and brethren in Kansas are shot down by ruffians, and the new and flourishing town of Lawrence laid waste by the forces of slavery, armed and authorzied by the President of the United States. But, though he regarded Mr. Sumner as a great and good man, and he had a great deal of sympathy with him, in his suffering, he nevertheless rejoiced, looked at from some points of view, in the brutal assault upon him. It would help arouse the nation. But what are to do? No political party, not even the Republican, can do much in the Union and under the Constitution. For all that these parties can do, in such a position, slavery will extend itself all over the land, as it now threatens. Dissolution of the Union is now the only practical method for us to adopt.

Rev. Mr. CONWAY, of Washington, D. C., next took the platform, and spoke in an earnest and manly strain as follows:

SPEECH OF REV. MR. CONWAY.

I do not stand here, this afternoon, because I expected to stand here; nor because I take precisely the views which have been expressed by the last speaker; nor because I have any union with any particular association of any kind, religious or social. I profess only to be a worker in the sphere in which it seems to me God has put me, down in my own little church of some four or five hundred persons at Washington. There we have gone on in our own way, doing what seemed to us the best; and I have not come to Boston to make speeches or attend any anniversaries. I have come to Boston because our church at Washington has given way—physically, not spiritually, not vitally. The walls, which had been standing some thirty-five years, gave way, just as our church was getting strong, inwardly; and I may add, that if any of you are disposed to take the hint, my address is at Little & Brown's. We have found that we have lost the *purse* of the church by taking anti-slavery ground, having shed eight or ten of the richest men in the Society, with their families, by our course on that matter.

But, sir, I came here to say, what may be obvious to all of us, that the country on which our eyes opened this morning is not the country on which our eyes closed last night. The country we lived in last week was not the country we live in now—not by any means. I have always been willing to say, that so long as I could see that there was any force acting in this country which might redeem it, any force which we might exercise as individuals, which should not be at all checked or restrained by any outward political associations, we might have hope; that so long as government force did not at all checkmate the full and free exercise of the individual strength of any one in the government, I was always willing to say that I did not care even to discuss the question of the Union, or of political action. To do the duty that lay next to us seemed the best policy, trusting, like the great German, that light would rise on the next.

What is the news that comes to our reluctant ears today? Why, most probably, that Lawrence lies in ashes, that the only true men that represent the whole Northern power, all its authority, all the force that the North has—I do not mean all the force that the North has, simply, but that the anti-slavery men of the world have to represent them in the capitol of this nation—all that force is destroyed under the heel of the Administration. What is to be the result of putting down all the anti-slavery action and power that there is there, which is thus eradicated? Why, just so surely as you, sir, sit there, and I stand here, the result is to introduce new slave States into the Union, with all their representatives—with Congressional powers greater, far greater, than New England has ever had. Just conceive of all the power that New England has to resist slavery, being instantly checkmated by the superior power of the slave States—all that vast region of country to enter, as it will now, inevitably, as slave States—what shall be the result of that? Why, there are men who, so long as they could look forward to the possibility of obtaining a majority in Congress that should resist slavery, who should stand there as Charles Sumner has stood there, they were ready to act without respect to taking such ground as now seems to be almost necessary to many minds. I will say, for one, that I never could. I trust you will allow me my frankness, my freedom, on this platform. I cannot see the consistency, quite—I do not say others do not—I know it is meant with perfect consistency, and is taken with great sincerity—I say I cannot quite see the consistency of those who hold the idea of no political action ever paying taxes to the State that supports the Union. I say that if we, as men, finding that there is before us, for five centuries, inevitably, the dominion of the Slave Power—with all Kansas subjected to slavery, with a slave representation in Congress laughing at its ease with a majority for five centuries ahead—then I would say that individual force, which in Luther broke the institution that had gathered up in its folds the strength of ten centuries—individual force, which spoke with the authority of Hampden and Sydney—that force should again be brought to bear. We should gather together, every man that looks upon hostility to wrong as a more sacred duty than anything else; who respects nothing, however venerable, or strong, or wealthy, even though it be a country, that stands in the way of their personal truthfulness to rectitude. Let the men who thus feel gather together with solemnity, in the fear of God, and, standing together, look into each other's eyes, and say, "What is to be done? We must not do wrong. When we contribute to the treasury of the State, when we support our State Government, we are supporting that which, as a State, supports a Union that is irretrievably given over to the spirit of slavery, beyond hope of redemption." And I do believe, on my soul, that a few men—I do believe that ten or twenty men, whose character is upright, who are faultless in their community, who have friends who love them, who have influence, coming together as the Quakers of old, when they stood against war, and allowed their cattle and furniture to be sold without stint, and would not consent to support it—I believe that if such men would take that stand now, their influence would be so strong that the whole world would come round to them. I believe that this volcanic power never was resisted. I believe that almost any one man, taking that position, would shake the whole community; and that a large number of men, a number that I know can be got taking that position, would be utterly irresistible. That is the action we will have to take at last. *We will personally secede* (cheers). It is an awful fact that this country has reached a condition that now writes this dreadful word on every heart, as it comes with pain and blood from Washington. With pen of flame the Kansas iniquity writes on our hearts the word—We must not do wrong! We must stand firm. The country verges on a danger so awful that the imagination faints as she looks into the future, and calculates the events of coming years. If it must come, let us be brave, true-hearted, and faithful to our duty. If we are irretrievably bound, as individuals, then must we balance our individual soul and sense of right against the whole world. The hydrostatic paradox will hold here, wherein the smallest capillary tube of water balances a whole ocean. A single soul, resting firmly on the laws of God, by that same hydrostatic power, balances the whole world. Nothing can resist it.

I know that this view may not strike you as a true one. We are very much given to routine, even at Anti-Slavery meetings. We are very much given to a certain round of thoughts. We have them in theology, we have them in politics. But the facts of to-day call to us with a strong voice, which we cannot resist. When a great crime, hitherto unknown on the pages of history, rises up before us, such as this against Kansas, which gives a death-blow to all the hopes we had cherished, it calls for a new treatment altogether, and that a new force be exerted. There is need now that some new power shall dart down into our hearts—that there shall be an entirely new entrance of feeling and force into the anti-slavery enterprise. We must look to it that we give our whole souls to the great fact that we must be personally true to ourselves; that we cannot be clogged and weighed down, as individuals, whose duty in this universe is to seek perfection, and the development of our minds and hearts, by this fact of slavery. Why, up here in the North, what do you get? People at a distance see that it is like dry rot in wheat. It comes forth in the North and you see the highest and noblest men falling before it. What men think on this question of slavery is the test of the moral honesty of all. Yet slavery is not here, it is in the South; and yet, it is more of a test question here than at the South. This is the terrible power that hangs over all of us, as individuals. I say that no man can reach the individual development in this country that he would if he were a free man. As long as one man is a slave in this land, we are all slaves, to a certain extent. We are all afraid of something. We are all afraid of some prejudice, some feeling against colour, or animosity of some kind—with great and grand exceptions, many of which I see around me. We must feel that man cannot reach the truest and noblest perfection under a system which, at the same time, produces slavery. Look down at the old geological periods, and see those vast electric currents—see those great monsters down there before man appeared on this earth—and we decide that such things as were there—the transition rock, the primeval forest—could not, in their very nature, have produced man. Man was to be the associate of higher stages of vegetation and animal life—these lower strata could not have produced them. And I say, the presence of slavery here, the apathy I find even in Boston, when a Massachusetts Senator is struck down by a coward hand in the Senate Chamber at Washington, the existence of that feeling that does not realize that slavery is wrong, and really in its heart chuckles over this outrage—I say, all this indicates a sort of lower strata of life, a primitive formation, and such a primitive formation cannot produce the best men and women. So it is for each man to feel this, that in freeing the slave, he is really freeing himself; he is asserting his own individual force, and his right to live in the country, and take things on the same terms with all other men, and not have anything which is selfishly had, and which his brother cannot have.

I know that there are many persons in the country who have a disposition to be quiet on this question. Even among anti-slavery people down at Washington, I am afraid that many things that are charged upon them by what are termed the Garrisonian Abolitionists are too true. They want to nominate Col. Fremont for President. What is the reason? I believe Col. Fremont is opposed to slavery. He is a romantic young man; an ambitious specimen of young America; a noble-hearted, chivalrous man—if that word has any meaning now (laughter and cheers). But I have yet to see the first word he has said that commits him to any principle on this subject. It is true, he does sympathize with the struggle to make Kansas a free State, and with Governor Robinson. I know the effort is being made to induce him to commit himself to some principle on this subject, and it may be successful. But many anti-slavery people think that men at Washington cannot be trusted on this question. They cannot. There is too much corruption in the air there, too many influences are brought to bear on men to make them yield on this question. Individuals who come down to Washington with strong anti-slavery feelings find this out in a way that would astound even the most superstitious of you. Why, Senator Sumner himself has told me that the influence was so great that he had no idea of it. The way in which Southern men would slip their hands in the arm, and walk along, and beg whoever it is not to waste his *tremendous* talents, his *great* learning, his *brilliant* prospects, on this question! (laughter)—to wait awhile, and see how it was: and the man would scarcely know where he was. I do believe that there is a taste of blood that a man gets in office that is very corrupting. It is like the taste of blood that a tiger gets, which he never forgets. There is a power of corruption all around men at Washington, and throughout the country, in regard to this matter of slavery, because there are great proprietory interests at stake. And these men all get their individual development subject to those influences; and you depend on them, and they depend on you; and unless each person—which is my point—unless each person, man or woman, feels that it is against his or her true development that this thing should exist—unless he or she takes it to heart, and tries to count the cost—how much bitterness it has cost, how much it has injured the serenity of his or her soul, how much has been yielded, in youth, in manhood or old age, to the influence of slavery, he or she will not be properly sprung on this question, and we all need that now. We need that there should be a great and noble enthusiasm rise within us in view of the new and thrilling events of the day, and call us to fresh endeavours. I, for one, am willing to stand forever and give my heart and soul to all that will be for the good of the poor down-trodden slave, as well as for the good of the whites, and also of this country (loud cheers). I tell you, my friends, it is a dreadful thing that I see in the city of Boston. I am a stranger here, almost. Although I lived here a year or so before I went to Washington, I really did not get at the minds of the people. But I say, the first thing that strikes one is that, with the exception of a few, the people here have no idea, not the remotest, of what slavery is. They do not realize it. They have a certain thing called liberty, which they believe to be right, and they believe that slavery, in the abstract, is wrong—but the idea of the immense practical evil that slavery inflicts on the country seems never to have affected them at all. That great evil has been feebly portrayed in "Uncle Tom's Cabin"; some of its most deplorable results have been proclaimed by the poet Whittier; but no tongue has yet been shaped which can truly write on the hearts of the people who do not know it and who have not seen it, lived in its midst, the awful evil of American slavery (applause)—that vast domestic corruption, which led a noble woman of Virginia to once say to me, with tears in her eyes, though she had descended from a long line of slaveholding ancestors, "No, I never would have you compromise an inch with it!" (Cheers.) She had seen her children, her nephews, grow up in this atmosphere of slavery, with the great power which God has seen fit to make that institution capable of—warmed out, like a nest of vipers, by this intense heat—this great evil, and she would not have me make terms with it. The evil of it! I would tell you some things I know, but I cannot—I cannot. All I can say is, that I have never met a man who hated it too much (cheers). I have never yet met the heart that throbbed too strongly against it. I wish to say, that if those who do think slavery wrong will examine this question more deeply, they will find that they do not realize half its enormity. They will become, not men of one idea, but I think they will have a great many ideas they never had before. The more they examine its history, its bearing on social life, the more they will find out its evil effects; and I do wish that there was some system by which Southern newspapers could be spread abroad at the North. I know the "Refuge of Oppression" in *The Liberator* does a great deal: but I know there is much that does not come to your ears. There is certainly a literature of modern times—I think the most superior literature of this country—the biographies of fugitive slaves—a literature which can never fail to have readers while there are any hearts—which show them to be the only heroes of the age; glorious men, who have braved all things—risked life, property, health—who have put themselves on the chase before the deadly bloodhounds, human and canine—and all for what? For this abstraction that we call *liberty!* (Applause.) If that is not heroism, what is heroism? That which is impassioned with a noble idea, that which forgets all fear of death, of anything, a passion for liberty, a passion for the heart's best love, that is heroism, and these are the men who represent it this day (loud cheers).

I wish to say a word more in reference to such books. I wish to say that the people of the North should enter more deeply into them, and then, when they have realized what this oppression is personally, when they have put themselves in the same circumstances, they will begin to feel what slavery is; and when they have asked themselves how much better they would feel if they had done their duty to God and man, if there were no slavery at the South, and how much easier it would be to do their duty to God and man if there were no slaves at the South, they will begin to feel whether they are nobler in the midst of slavery, whether they are really men and women so long as there are slaves in the land. I know that men are possible in this world, as well as reptiles and monsters. I know that there have been men; and since Christ, who, by the way, was the first to feel conscious that he had such a manhood; but I do say that the mass of people are fundamentally ignoble on this subject; that they do not reach their proper height as men; that they cannot, as long as they allow this great crime to exist in their midst, and with which they themselves are connected by political and moral ties; that the neglect of a single moment, wherein a testimony might have been uttered that would have reached any ear, makes them less men, because they are not lovers of men, because they are not free, because they are indolent, and any such moment you may put down in your life as just as much lost as if in that moment you had been dead.

Let us, then, be true on this subject, whatever else fails. This is no time for apathy; this is no time for speaking anything but that which is on our hearts. However much we may differ as regards methods, that is no fault. It is time for us to offer our opinions frankly, honestly—saying just what we feel. I have told you that I believe we are to take some new, decided action, now that we find that this country is irretrievably sold to the Slave Power for five centuries before us. I tell you, I am not willing to live in a country under these circumstances (cheers). I know you may not feel so strongly as I do about it; but I am not willing, after what I know of slavery, to live in a country which is tied for five centuries, by the admission of Kansas, to the dominion of slavery.

It was on my mind when I left Washington to talk to men on this subject; to see whether individual force could be brought to bear on this country, such as has been brought to bear in times past, and has shattered ancient churches, has raised up new powers of life, simply by men standing still and waiting for the salvation of God; standing still in the midst of all—not helping the government or authority in any way—but standing still and waiting the result, whether it be their martyrdom, their imprisonment, or whether it be to see the powers themselves trembling and crumbling to pieces before the simple truth which ages ago announced to the world—what so few of us believe—that, under such circumstances, "one can chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight" (loud applause).

Mr. Billings, of Illinois, said that some call the idea of liberty an *abstraction*; but such it was not. It was not so with our Puritan forefathers, nor with the Revolutionary patriots. They loved liberty and laboured to establish it throughout the land; and they never would have compromised with slavery as they did could they have foreseen the fatal results. He also insisted that eminent humanity is eminent *Christianity*; and that this humanity or Christianity is destined to triumph over everything opposed to it.

J. B. Swazey, Esq., on coming forward, remarked that he happened to come from that dark corner of the State which is *disgraced* by being the residence of Caleb Cushing! And in that place—Newburyport—multitudes of men are found to apologize for the late dastardly attack upon Mr. Sumner! In Boston—in all parts of Massachusetts—we find numbers of the same kind of men. But he, nevertheless, recognised a power in the land—it was to be found in the present Convention—from which the revolution that is to come may be surely augured.

WEDNESDAY.

Met according to adjournment, when, at 10 o'clock, the President, Francis Jackson, called the Convention to order, with quite a large number of persons present, considering the inclemency of the weather.

The resolutions (17, 18 and 19) relating to the calling of a Convention of the Free States, for the purpose of withdrawing from the Union, were read by request.

Rev. Mr. Nute, from Kansas, felt this morning as he had never felt before, that the Union is so prostituted to slavery that there is no longer any use of trying to save it. He did not at present, as he had endeavoured to heretofore, believe that the enemies of freedom in Kansas are honest. But it was his deep conviction to-day that bad as Missouri ruffianism is, Boston ruffianism is still worse. He had been out to Kansas under the auspices of the American Unitarian Association, and he was going again, in a short time, with a pledge from them that they would sustain him in his practical allegiance to the cause of freedom there, even though it led him to trample on United States law. This was an encouraging indication; and he made an earnest appeal to various classes to go with him and aid in the establishment of liberty in Kansas.

S. S. Foster had thought that, at such a crisis as the present, a new impulse would be given to the cause; but when he heard Mr. Phillips say, on the platform yesterday, that the two words to be spoken now are, Sumner and Kansas, he had felt a great sinking of his soul. But who is Charles Sumner, he asked, that this Society should espouse his quarrels with the slaveholders? He has long stood by and seen the rights of the millions of slaves stricken down, but what has he done? He has been striking hands with villains, and aiding them in their works of iniquity. This point Mr. Foster enlarged upon in his peculiar manner, amidst demonstrations of approving and disapproving feeling; many asking him questions upon the subject, and he answering them, much to the interest, if not to the conviction, of the audience, which had now got to be large. The mission of true anti-slavery is, he insisted, to separate the wheat from the chaff; but the danger now is, that we shall accept the chaff *as* wheat. He felt it, therefore, to be his first duty to make it everywhere realized that the Free Soil movement and the Kansas movement are unable to bring salvation to the country. No State in the Union, he said, had passed such barbarous laws against the black man as Kansas has passed. He contended earnestly, therefore, that the slave can be freed *only* over the ruins of the American Union; and the men at Washington who do not want to get caned for any free speech there ought to leave the company of villains and come home.

Mr. Phillips asked Mr. Foster if he would have thanked Gov. Chase, of Ohio, if he had put himself at the head of the military and rescued Margaret Garner? Mr. Foster answering in the affirmative, Mr. Phillips said that he had simply thanked Mr. Sumner for doing an unmixedly good act.

Charles C. Burleigh said that Gov. Chase might have rescued Margaret Garner without going outside of the Union—that he could have constitutionally done it.

Mr. Foster said, let Charles Sumner take the highest ground possible, and he would become the man of men; but as long as he should remain in his present position he could do little or nothing. Mr. F. closed his speech by offering the following resolution:

Resolved, That the first and most important duty of this Convention, at the present time, is to convince the entire community that the anti-slavery of any and every political party which acknowledges allegiance and promises support to the Federal Government is necessarily tainted and spurious; and the nearer its resemblance to the genuine, the more injurious is it to the cause of freedom, because the more likely to deceive and mislead the honest and true-hearted.

Mr. May made a brief and earnest appeal to the friends of the cause for contributions and pledges.

Charles L. Remond suggested that contributions and pledges should be made in reference to the fact that the American Anti-Slavery Society contemplates the holding of one hundred Conventions in the course of the year. He also made some very earnest and eloquent remarks upon the importance of keeping the old anti-slavery movement pure and uncompromising. He cared nothing for the question of Kansas, but stood on the ground of impartial and universal liberty. He closed by objecting to so much being said on the anti-slavery platform in eulogy of the Anglo-Saxon race in distinction from all other races. He referred to Theodore Parker's speaking of himself and others as Africans. He did not care for the matter on his own account, but he believed the Anglo-Saxon race was not the superior race it was often represented to be, and he thought it time that this constant claim of its superiority should be backed up by some proof that it has common humanity and decency.

Wendell Phillips urged the importance of liberal contributions and pledges at this crisis, on the ground that the old anti-slavery movement is to make the most efficient use of the outrages of slavery in Kansas, and upon Charles Sumner and others at Washington, that can be made during the coming year. The Free Soilers have got to create a President—we a right public sentiment.

Mr. Phillips, in some criticisms upon Mr. Foster's speech, said that he considered the Free Soil party one of the greatest obstacles in the way of liberty—not *the* greatest—but when a man sets his face in the right direction, he does one good act, and he would honour him and thought we all should. Theodore Parker acknowledges the merits of Henry Ward Beecher fifty times where the orthodox timidity dares return the compliment once.

Abby Kelly Foster wanted to make a suggestion in reference to the honesty of some Free Soil leaders. Giddings and Wilson acknowledge, she said, our principles, but will not live by them. They may be politically honest, but they are not honest in a Christian sense.

Mr. Phillips said of Henry Ward Beecher that he believed him honest in keeping with his present position; and though he did not come to us, it was enough to prove him an honest anti-slavery man that he was the object of pro-slavery hatred throughout the land. So of Mr. Giddings and Henry Wilson.

Mr. Garrison said the liberty of speech is a great thing and a valuable right; but it was not yet fully secured. Those who came to our meetings should come prepared to hear any one utter his honest convictions. He wished that those who had manifested their indignation at Mr. Remond for applying an odious epithet to Washington—which he himself did not think an appropriate one—would turn some of their indignation towards Edward Everett, the recreant eulogist, for a base end, of Washington. In relation to Kansas, and in reply to some things from Mr. Nute, Mr. Garrison contended that *here* and not *there* is the work of anti-slavery; for as long as we have such a North, politically and religiously, as we now have, there is no hope for Kansas nor for the slave, excepting through the moral and religious education of the people.

S. S. Foster thought, in relation to Charles Sumner, that we must be impartial in the application of our rebukes to all parties, and that Mr. Sumner must not, therefore, be spared, standing, as he does, in union with slaveholders. He thought that all intelligent supporters of the Government are dishonest men; and ought to be rebuked and denounced. Henry Ward Beecher, he said, had received too much eulogy on this platform; he was too *pure* and *good* to stand on the platform with Mr. Garrison and Mr. Phillips, but he could sit in religious association with Presbyterian cradle plunderers! So of the other leading Free Soilers.

Adjourned to meet in the Melodeon, at quarter to 3 o'clock.

Afternoon.—Met at the Melodeon, according to adjournment. Effingham L. Capron, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.

Mr. Garrison, from the Business Committee, offered the following resolutions:

Resolved, That we proffer to our honoured friend and toil-worn co-labourer in the anti-slavery field, Parker Pillsbury, and to his beloved family, our warmest congratulations on his safe arrival home, with renovated health, after a protracted absence in Europe; that we remember with admiration and gratitude the invaluable services he has performed in behalf of that cause, through years of evil report, popular odium and universal proscription, in the spirit of entire self-sacrifice and quenchless devotion, at the loss of reputation and the peril of life; that we rejoice to know that, during his sojourn abroad, notwithstanding his dangerous illness, he was enabled to do much towards enlightening the minds and affecting the hearts of British philanthropists, on the subject of American slavery, thus securing their future co-operation with us to extirpate this awful curse, by their religious testimonies and pecuniary offerings; that we trust he will be permitted to see the chain of every slave broken, before being called to a higher and nobler sphere, and to mingle his voice in the song of a jubilee more glorious than has ever yet been proclaimed in any land, among any people.

Resolved, That we recognise, with the liveliest emotions of gratitude, the unremitted attention and unwearied kindness of our transatlantic friends towards Mr. Pillsbury, as the faithful representative of the manacled slave, from the hour of his landing to that of his leaving their hospitable shores; and we beg them to accept this brief expression of our feeling as but the feeblest token of what, on the score of indebtedness, we cannot find words adequately to express.

Mr. Swazey, in speaking of Charles Sumner, said he had never been a great admirer of the distinguished Senator; but in regard to his recent services and present suffering, he gave him his hearty approval and admiration. He thought, however, that our Society ought to be cautious how it endorsed the leaders of the Republican party, or the party itself; approving them, indeed, for any good acts, and reproving them for any bad acts, but discriminatingly.

Charles C. Burleigh stated that he had just heard a gratifying piece of intelligence. Edward Everett had recently received an invitation from the Connecticut Legislature, to deliver before it his lecture on Washington. But on hearing that Mr. Everett had refused to speak at the late indignation meeting at Faneuil Hall, the Legislature had withdrawn that invitation! The announcement of this fact called out much applause.

Marius R. Robinson, of Ohio, spoke with satisfaction of the variety of talent and methods found on our anti-slavery platform, believing it advantageous to the cause. He also spoke of the general aspects of the cause, as illustrated in the case of Kansas. He believed the design of the Slave Power to be to put down discussion on the floor of Congress, and he thought it would succeed, unless the North can be aroused more thoroughly than ever before. He likewise gave an interesting account of the condition of Ohio, in reference to the anti-slavery question, and of the position of Gov. Chase and of the Republican party there. Mr. R. concluded by insisting that the only practical method of abolition is that of "No Union with Slaveholders," and, he would add, "Union with the Slaves."

[The series of Resolutions before the Committee was called for and read by Mr. May, one of the Secretaries.]

Theodore Parker spoke briefly of past aggressions of the Slave Power, and of its recent manifestations, mentioning the case of Mr. Sumner and the rumour that Mr. Wilson has been challenged to a duel at Washington by Brooks, of South Carolina, and Mr. Wade, of Ohio, by Toombs, of Georgia.

Adjourned to meet at the Melodeon, on Thursday, 10 o'clock, a. m.

THURSDAY.

Met at the Melodeon, when, at 10 o'clock, the President called the Convention to order. A large audience in attendance.

J. J. Locke made some general remarks on the relation of Religion and the Church to slavery, and enlarged upon the idea that the substance of Christianity is justice, kindness, beneficence, humanity—the prominent idea set forth in the 25th chapter of Matthew, the letter and spirit of which, he contended, obliges every man of every Christian profession, however different their creeds, to be an active friend of humanity in every form.

Mrs. A. K. Foster said it was not her purpose or expectation, on leaving home, to speak at the Convention; but she wished to revive a discussion of yesterday, which did not seem to her to be clearly settled. The New England Convention, she said, was the place of all others to get at the truth, which is to be carried out into practical life. She referred to Mr. Remond's application of an opprobrious epithet to Washington, which, she confessed, grated harshly upon her own ears. But when she considered Gen. Washington's relation to slavery, and remembered the case of the fugitive woman particularly who fled from his service to New Hampshire, she thought the idolatry of the man ought to be stricken down.

As to the discussion of the Free Soil question, she hoped all personalities would be avoided; but, above all, it was important that our *uncompromising* position should be maintained. We love, she said, our Free Soil friends, and in various ways they manifest their friendship for us; but we owe them a *duty* to rebuke them, when they compromise the truth. She spoke most impressively of the disagreeableness of this duty, and of the sacrifices she and her husband often had to make in discharging it, but this was the special mission given them from Heaven, and they must follow it faithfully. It was a most noble and Christian speech, worthy the glorious spirit of the woman, always illustrated, as it is, by her pure and martyr-like life.

Rev. Gardner Dean, of ——, thought it a poor time to criticise Charles Sumner; some had criticised him on this platform. He spoke in eulogy of Mr. Sumner and the Republican party, as based on the Constitution of the United States, and urged a union of all anti-slavery parties.

Mr. Garrison urged the point that unless we base our anti-slavery movement upon *principle*, we must go down—there is no other foundation to build upon. The South are united to a man on slavery; at the North all the great political and religious parties are on the same side—the Republican party, as under the Constitution of the United States, is implicated in the support of slavery like the rest. But to succeed, there is an absolute necessity of Abolitionists being uncompromising on the ground of "No Union with Slaveholders."

Marius R. Robinson spoke ably and earnestly of the importance of the dissolution of the Union question, and also of the importance of practical operations on that basis.

S. S. Foster said that, in rising to speak, he was conscious that he stood almost alone in the position he had taken in reference to the Free Soil party, and against the unmatched eloquence of Mr. Phillips and Mr. Garrison, and their well-earned influence. But he must be true to his own judgment and conscience. He thought the present the true time to criticise Mr. Sumner, because he is, as never before, the idol of New England.

Mr. Garrison said Mr. Sumner was the product of our anti-slavery movement; and the question is, whether we have been making him a dangerous man.

Mr. Foster thought that Mr. Sumner is a dangerous man to the anti-slavery cause, and more dangerous at present than at any time before. He insisted, too, that if our movement had made Mr. Sumner a better man than he was ten years ago, it had thereby made him a greater obstacle to that movement.

Mr. Garrison announced that a telegraphic despatch from Washington, just received, represents Mr. Sumner in an increasingly critical condition, and the probability is, therefore, that we shall soon be delivered from what we have been told is the greatest obstacle to our cause.

Mr. Foster objected to such an allusion to his own reference to Mr. Sumner. Adjourned to quarter to 3 o'clock.

Afternoon.—Jehiel Claflin, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair. An immense audience thronged the hall in every part.

Mr. Downes, of Bradford, took the platform to give a brief account of a recent visit to the South; and he affirmed that he never met such ruffianly and brutal men anywhere as he meet there. Whilst there, he himself was often in danger of his life, being several times threatened with assassination, for incidentally expressing his views of slavery. He came home, he said, satisfied that the Union was worth nothing to any Northern man, and he went, therefore, for its immediate dissolution.

S. S. Foster resumed the discussion in reference to Mr. Sumner and the Republican party. He said he had none but kind feelings towards Mr. Sumner, and he believed that Mr. S. had been the very best Abolitionist he could be under the Government. Still, it was his duty to criticise him, for in his present position he inevitably drew off even some of the tried and true of our anti-slavery platform. He went into a thorough exposition of Mr. Sumner's position, showing that he stood, with other supporters of the Union, on the necks of four millions of human beings—a thankless work to him, he said, but a necessary one to the cause. Mr. F. himself was not in favour of the Northern States withdrawing from the Southern; but he was in favour of uniting with the slaves, as Cassius M. Clay proposed, as against their masters. And let those who believe in using the sword use it, for such as those can do nothing without it.

Mr. Phillips replied that, according to Mr. Foster's philosophy, there could not be a good idea going around the world unless it came from the Garrisonians. To be consistent with it, we ought to pray for the advent of Griers, and Jeffreys, and Kanes, as a protection against good men not wholly right. But Mr. Phillips repudiated this whole philosophy as absurd; and denied also that he had endorsed the Republican party or Mr. Sumner as Abolitionist. Mr. Sumner's position in the United States Government, he himself had always criticised, as had Mr. Garrison; but he would be ever ready to render honour to every man for a good act—even to the slaveholding Judge of Mississippi, who, amidst his long career of service to slavery, gave one manly and righteous decision for freedom. And the nearer men come to the truth, the more he would honour them; believing that the better they are, the more useful they must be.

Mr. Foster complained that he had not been met by Mr. Phillips with fairness; but as it was suggested by Mr. Garrison and others that he had occupied much time in the discussion, he took his seat.

Mrs. A. K. Foster thought the cause of freedom demanded that Mr. Foster should reply to Mr. Phillips, as she considered that he had been misrepresented.

Charles C. Burleigh and Samuel May, Jr., hoped that Mr. Foster would proceed with his remarks, that there might be no appearance even of restricting his freedom.

Mr. Foster took the platform to correct some of Mr. Phillips's misconceptions and misstatements, and occupied some fifteen minutes in doing so. He greatly deplored the eulogies that Mr. Phillips and Mr. Garrison pronounced upon Mr. Sumner.

Adjourned to meet at the Melodeon at half-past seven o'clock.

Evening.—Met at the Melodeon; Edmund Quincy in the chair, who called the meeting to order at half-past 7 o'clock.

Mr. Garrison, from the Business Committee, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That in the death of our venerated friend, John Rogers, of this city, the anti-slavery cause has lost an early, unfaltering and devoted supporter; one whose idea of genuine evangelical religion was that it imperatively requires the immediate emancipation of every bondman, and that no compromise is to be made with sin, under any circumstances; and to whom the cry of "infidelity" against the faithful friends of the oppressed, by a spurious orthodoxy, was the best evidence of their Christianity.

Mr. May, on behalf of the Business Committee, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That in the departure from this life of John Bishop Estlin, of Bristol (Eng.)—which event occurred since our last annual New England Convention—the American Anti-Slavery Society and its friends have been called to meet with no common loss; for, though "the good die not," and we feel that he yet speaks to us, and to all who knew him, and who may still be reached by his writings, and by the manly power of his serene spirit and disinterested life; yet, we miss his presence with his counsel, his animating example, in our contest with "American Slavery, that sum of all villanies." To his memory we offer this tribute of our profound respect and admiration. To his hearty espousal of the cause of the oppressed, to his unremitting sacrifices in its behalf, to the value of his continued and various efforts to promote it, on both sides of the Atlantic, we feel it both a duty and a high privilege to bear our earnest and united testimony. Grateful to God that we enjoyed so long the benefit of his wise, judicious and hearty co-operation, we desire to be animated by his memory to a renewed consecration of our best powers to that high cause of Humanity which he loved so well.

Wm. Wells Brown, who had been intimately acquainted with Mr. Estlin in England, came forward to speak to the above resolution, which he did in an appropriate manner. He also spoke of the discussion which had taken place during the various sessions of the Convention, and expressed his conviction that both parties were *right*, presenting different phases of the same great subject. It was important, he thought, that advantage should be taken of the sympathies flowing out everywhere for Mr. Sumner, and infuse into them the light and truth of our uncompromising movement. These sympaties, he said, would be worth nothing a year hence, unless rightly directed. He closed by a brief exposure of the pro-slavery character of American religion, and a fitting rebuke and condemnation of it.

Mr. Pillsbury also spoke briefly to the resolution concerning Mr. Estlin; and said that the probability is that, ere another year shall pass away, another eminent friend of the slave and of our cause would be numbered with the dead—namely, Harriet Martineau, of whom he spoke with the deepest reverence and gratitude. Mr. P. adverted to the discussion which had taken place with reference to Mr. Sumner and the Republicans; and though he thought the hearts of each party in that discussion were in the right place, and that they looked at the subject from different stand-points, he, nevertheless, sympathized mostly with Mr. and Mrs. Foster, as he thought would be the case with most of the lecturing agents. And as for himself, he must join issue with the Republican party as long as it stood where it always has stood, considering it, as he did, a great obstacle in the way of uncompromising anti-slavery. The anti-slavery movement which he represented, he considered the great Christian movement of the age, out of which salvation must come.

Mr. Garrison wanted it distinctly understood that no endorsement of Mr. Sumner as an Abolitionist, or of the Republican party, had been *attempted* or thought of by any in the Convention; but only a just commendation of Mr. Sumner for his late noble speech in the Senate, and the manly stand that he is maintaining in opposition to the Slave Power—as the resolutions offered at the commencement of the session will show. These remarks Mr. Garrison followed with an interesting address on the general aspects of the cause, its world-wide bearings, and the importance of zealous action on the part of Abolitionists.

Mr. Phillips briefly reviewed the proceedings of the various meetings of the Convention, and urged upon Abolitionists the duties of the hour. His speech was brief, but of great interest and eloquence. His rebuke of Edward Everett and Robert C. Winthrop, for their heartless refusal to stand in the Faneuil Hall meeting, and denounce the outrage which has been done alike to Massachusetts and to her noble Senator, was as pointed and severe as it was deserved; and the crowded audience accepted every word of it, and made it their own.

Theodore Parker followed Mr. Phillips, commending the platform of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society as the freest and highest in the United States; but expressing his dissent from its non-voting and non-political character.

Mr. Garrison made a correction of some statements made by Mr. Parker and a few interesting remarks in reference to Mr. P.'s position. Mr. G. also presented the following resolution:

Resolved, That this Convention desires to express its sense of the great loss which the cause of emancipation in this country, and of universal freedom, has sustained, since its last anniversary, by the death of the noble William H. Ashurst, of England, whose home was the refuge of the outlawed friends of freedom in the old world, ever open to the anti-slavery advocates from America, and whose heart and hand were ever ready to assist every progressive movement.

The three resolutions relating to the departed friends of the cause were then adopted by a unanimous vote.

The resolution of welcome to Parker Pillsbury was then unanimously voted.

Mrs. A. K. Foster having expressed her sense of duty to vote against the resolutions respecting Mr. Sumner, it was decided to take the vote upon those resolutions separately; and, being taken, the resolutions were adopted with but a few dissentient voices.

The resolution offered by Stephen S. Foster was, on motion of Charles C. Burleigh, seconded by Samuel May, Jr., indefinitely postponed.

The remaining resolutions before the Convention were then adopted, *nem. con.*; and the Convention then adjourned, *sine die*, after one of the most interesting and exciting series of meetings ever held in the City of Boston.

☛ The entire amount of donations and cash collections, as reported by the Finance Committee, was $636.00; of pledges, payable during the year ensuing, $1,280.50.

FRANCIS JACKSON, *President.*

William H. Fish,
Samuel May, Jr.,
Aaron M. Powell,
} *Secretaries.*

The National Convention of "Radical Abolitionists" assembled in Syracuse last week and went through the farce of nominating Gerrit Smith for President, and Samuel McFarlen of Pennsylvania for Vice-President. Mr. Smith, according to the report of the *Evening Post*, wished to be excused. He said he had been the standing candidate of the party for a great while, and, as such, the butt of much of the ridicule and abuse which had been heaped upon them. He thought some younger man ought now to be the candidate, at least till there was a prospect of an election, when he assured them he would be glad of the nomination.

The *Post* further says:

"The question of physical resistance to the Slave Power was largely discussed, during the Convention. Rev. A. Pryne, of Ohio, was in favour of armed resistance. He thought it the duty of Massachusetts to send to Washington at once the column of her militia, if Congress refuses to take proper action in regard to the outrage upon Mr. Sumner, and the duty of the North to let Massachusetts understand that that column would be flanked on the right and left by brave men, ready to fight for liberty. He believed that no force but bullets could ever convince the South, and he was in favour of this kind of argument.

"Lewis Tappan and others differed on this question, and no definite action was taken."

A Valuable Tract.—No. 18 of the American Anti-Slavery Society's series of Tracts is just issued. It is entitled, "The Fugitive Slave Law and its Victims." It contains, first, a synopsis of the Act itself; secondly, the names of those Northern Representatives and Senators who supported it and voted for it, with extracts from the speeches of Daniel Webster; and thirdly, a record, as complete as circumstances enabled the compiler to make, of the Victims of the Law, from James Hamlet (surrendered in this City immediately after its passage) to Margaret Garner—including, of course, the cases of Shadrach, Sims and Burns in Boston, of Jerry at Syracuse, Freeman at Indianapolis, Bill Thomas at Wilkesbarre, Glover at Milwaukee, Pembroke in New York, and the Christiana Tragedy. It is a dark record, and a copy of it ought to be placed in every house, store and shop in the land. This tract being 48 pages in length, and more expensive than others of the same series, will not be given away in quantities, but sold for 5 cents single, 50 cents a dozen, and $4 per hundred.

On the first page will be found the documents needful to a right understanding of the action of the late New School Presbyterian General Assembly on the subject of slavery. At another time we hope to be able to find room for some choice extracts from the debates of the Assembly, revealing a blind infatuation and hardness of heart on the part of a large portion of the members which may well astonish those who have not wholly lost faith in the Church and Clergy of this country. The men composing that Assembly are, in our judgment, far more guilty in the sight of Heaven than even the border ruffians of Missouri, for the latter are for the most part ignorant and deluded men, while the former, with professions of Christianity upon their lips and every opportunity for knowing their duty, deliberately cast their influence on the side of the oppressor.

From our Cincinnati Correspondent.

Cincinnati, May 29, 1856.

Delegates to the Democratic National Convention have been arriving in our city from the first of this week, and a large number both of delegates and outsiders are now here. Many of these are lookers-on, wire-pullers and politicians, and are busy already intriguing in favour of this or that candidate. There is every indication that there will be a great assemblage of visitors from abroad—probably the largest number ever gathered here at one time. The hotels are doing their utmost to accommodate all who come, especially the proprietor of the Burnet House, who has fitted up a row of buildings adjoining the Hotel to furnish lodgings and tables for from two to four thousand guests. It is not worth while, at this late date, to speculate upon the probable result of the Convention. Most of the delegates here are opposed to Pierce's nomination, and the outside influence in this city and State bears decidedly in favour of Buchanan. The Slave Power, which rules the party, would be glad enough to nominate either Pierce or Douglass, but the leaders of the party at the North and the more sagacious at the South are afraid of the increasing anti-slavery sentiment and the progress of the Republican party, both of which have been strengthened by the measures of the present Administration. They prefer, therefore, a new man, who has *done* less with which he can be reproached and who may gain votes to a great extent by being non-committal on the most delicate points. Buchanan's chance is, therefore, much better than that of either of his competitors.

The Republicans in this County have lately held a Convention, appointed delegates to the National Convention at Philadelphia and made the preliminary movements towards prosecuting the approaching campaign with vigour. The meetings of the Committees appointed have been well attended, and much enthusiasm manifested. There is a very determined spirit aroused to do battle for the Republican cause against any ticket the pro-slavery party may nominate. A Republican meeting was held on Saturday last, the 24th inst. in Newport, Ky. (near this city), at which Cassius M. Clay was the principal speaker. The Republican party there was fully organized, and delegates chosen to the National Convention. A similar meeting was held at Alexandria, Ky. (farther in the interior), and at neither meeting was there any disturbance. Be it more or less, there will certainly be a vote given for the Republican candidates in Kentucky.

There was a large and enthusiastic meeting here, in one of our large halls, a few evenings since, in behalf of the cause of freedom in Kansas. Colonel Lane, who has been speaking at other places in this State and Indiana, was present and addressed the meeting. It was one of the largest assemblages of our substantial citizens ever gathered at a political meeting, and the interest in Kansas affairs since the late news from Lawrence has become intense. The pro-slavery party seem to have gone mad. Their late attempts in Kansas and Washington to force slavery upon the country and put down free speech show that the Slave Power is becoming desperate. The Administration could have hardly pursued a policy better calculated to strengthen the anti-slavery sentiment of the country than that they have chosen. The cause of freedom has received an impulse in the last three years which nothing but the madness, the infatuation, of the pro-slavery leaders could have given it. The Democratic party seem determined to do all they can to arouse the people of the North and compel them to united action against the Slave Power.

The Fillmore party have had a Convention in this State and nominated an Electoral ticket. Their numbers are small, and as an Independent party they have nothing like the influence the Know-Nothings have in the Eastern States. The party has the elements of weakness in it and is fast diminishing, and the Republican party as rapidly growing in vigour and influence. Yours, P.

Cincinnati, May 30, 1856.

Your readers have doubtless been informed of the proceedings of the General Conference of the Methodist Church which has been, for some weeks, in session at Indianapolis. We have reports in the *Cincinnati Gazette* daily of the previous day's proceedings as fully as if the Conference met in this city, and every Sunday the Methodist pulpits here are supplied by preachers from the Conference, who come in the cars, free, Saturday evening, and return on Monday, a. m. So much for the facilities afforded by the railroad system. Of *course*, there has been a very warm debate in Conference on the slavery question, in which the strongest arguments for slavery have come from Northern men. Upon taking the final vote, the resolution proposing to alter the Discipline so as to make the "*holding* human beings" as property an offence was not passed for want of a constitutional vote (two-thirds). The vote was Ayes 121, Nays 94. So the attempt to rid the Church of slaveholding has failed for the present—but *only* for the present. The vote on this question, as on several proposed reforms in the Church discussed by the Conference, shows an increasing strength in the numbers of the friends of progress, and four years more only of discussion are needed to secure some substantial triumphs in the next General Conference. The Anti-Slavery enterprise takes no backward steps. In Church and State its principles are destined to triumph.

The Cincinnati Conference has been endeavouring, for two or three years past, to establish a College and High School for Coloured Youth. An agent has been employed, Rev. John F. Wright, and, after much presentation of the subject to other Conferences and to the Coloured Methodists, the Xenia Springs property was purchased, this week, by a committee of the Conference. About thirty students are on the ground, and the institution will be opened as soon as possible. It may not prove to be all that an ardent Abolitionist could wish, but it is an enterprise full of hope for the moral and intellectual improvement of the coloured race among us, and I cannot but wish it abundant success.

The African Methodists held their General Conference, in this city, a week or two since, and had an interesting session. The College referred to above was commended, and Colonization condemned.

The city is becoming thronged with delegates to the Democratic Convention. There are but few Pierce men among them. Yours, P.

Summary.

Messrs. Dix, Edwards & Co. have in press a book by Mrs. Farnham narrating the experiences of her life in California, whither she went a year or more after the first gold discovery. It will make a volume of some 400 pages.

Temperance Bequest by Dr. J. C. Warren.—The late Dr. J. C. Warren left in trust $2,000 to the Massachusetts Temperance Society, of which he was President for nearly thirty years, for the purchase and distribution of publications for the promotion of temperance.

A Common Mistake of Farmers.—A farmer in Ohio, last Fall, put up his wheat crop for a high price. In February he was offered $10,000. In April he offered to take $7,000. In June he will probably sell it for $5,000. There is a lesson in this for other farmers.

Worse than the Toads.—Says a paragraphist in the Lockport *Journal*, Slavery brought upon Egypt the curse of frogs and toads. Worse effect in the case of the North, it has brought upon her the curse of *toadies*. What a scarcity of Fillmore men there will be when these, like their prototypes in Egypt, have "died out of the villages and out of the fields."

Consistent.—The only paper in this city which supports the Administration in its arbitrary measures to force slavery into Kansas, the *Day Book*, is advocating the slave trade—thinks it's right, and its opponents hypocrites. A paper that dares to defend and commend the most atrocious of all villanies—the African slave trade—ought to be in a lunatic asylum or a penitentiary, and its editor along with it.

John Adams.—"The elder Adams, the son of a worthy cobbler."—"Theta"—*Transcript, May* 17, 1856.

It was perhaps owing to the very fact of his humble parentage that the elder Adams became what he was. I have never seen the story in print, but it legitimately descended to me by oral tradition, having been told my great grandfather by "the pious Deacon Adams, of the church in Braintree," himself.

The deacon, during a temporary absence, had set John to cutting out the "uppers" for some shoes; but, like the Chinaman, who, in making a pair of breeches from a pattern furnished by some prudent captain, had faithfully copied the patches which his wife had put in the place of the old ones, John had embellished every "upper" he had cut out with the three-cornered hole by which the patterns had hung on their accustomed nail. "I saw," said the deacon, "I couldn't make a shoemaker of him, so *I put him to learning*."—*Bost. Trans.*

Mr. Charles W. Elliott of this city, has nearly completed the preparation of a "New England History" from the earliest discovery by the Northmen to the adoption of the Federal Constitution. The work is written chiefly from contemporary documents, and is intended to exhibit the principles and ideas which inspired the movement of the Pilgrims, as well as to present a faithful record of the events which signalized their annals. It is to be comprised in two volumes, and will probably make its appearance early in the ensuing season.—*Tribune.*

The Rome correspondent of the Newark *Daily Advertiser*, under date of April 3, says: "It is estimated that there are over thirty thousand foreign visitors in the city during Holy Week. The great body of them left within a few days after, having distributed during their sojourn hundreds of thousands of dollars. Mr. Fillmore left the day after Easter Sunday, with a small party, for St. Petersburg via Florence and Vienna. Miss Dix has yielded to an invitation to look into the Hospitals and Prisons of Constantinople."

The recent census is quoted to show that while more than one-fourth of the coloured population of the North are mulattoes, only one-thirteenth of the slave population of the slave States are mulattoes. Among the 3,203,314 slaves in the United States, 246,656 were found to have white blood in them, and not all of these could be considered mulattoes; while of 195,000 coloured people of the free States, 57,000 were mulattoes. In Ohio, out of the 25,000 coloured population, 14,000, or more than half, are mulattoes.

The Missouri Slave Case.—The Washington correspondent of the *N. Y. Evening Post* says:

"The Supreme Court have postponed a decision on the case of Dred Scott, the Missouri slave, who petitions for his freedom on the ground that his master had carried him into a free State or Territory. The Court requires further evidence as to the facts involved, and particularly upon the point whether the petitioner is a citizen of Missouri, so as to be entitled to sue, and whether the issue presented to the Court is a real or feigned issue. They order the petition or rather the appeal upon it to be filed for a re-argument.

What He Wanted.—We remember being at a conference meeting in Yankee-land, when a deacon came around, very kindly asking the people "if they wanted salvation?"

Near us sat a butcher's boy, some nineteen years old, about as amenable to salvation as a lamb in his hands would be to mercy. Him the worthy deacon addressed with—

"Do you want salvation?"

"No, darn yer—I want Sal Skinner, and the sexton wont let me take her out till meeting's over."

About 3,000 persons assembled lately in an amphitheatre at Sacramento, Cal., to witness a fight between a bull and an immense grizzly bear weighing 2,000 lbs.; and the noble brutes could not be made to fight, and the ignoble brutes killed them in their vexation. The mixed society of California is well represented by the load of a stage coach that recently arrived at Sacramento, viz: two convicts on their way to State prison, a counterfeiter, a horse thief, a deputy sheriff, a slippery, crafty and prominent politician, two County officers, an expressman, a collector of the foreign miners' tax, two negroes and four Chinamen.

Disclosures of a Mesmeric Subject.—A San Francisco paper, by the last steamer, says:

"Frank Ball, well known in the cities of the Northern and Eastern States as the principal mesmeric subject of Leroy Sunderland at lectures which he gave in 1846–47–48, has commenced publishing in the *Chronicle* a series of papers entitled 'The Adventures and Revelations of Frank A. Ball, as a Mesmeric Subject.'

"Sunderland and he made more converts to mesmerism than were made by any other ten persons at that time. He now states that he was never in a mesmeric sleep, but did all the experiments by collusion, and he explains how it was done, and appeals to a number of witnesses to confirm the truth of what he says. He makes affidavit to the truth of his revelations, and his first paper is confirmed in many of its material points by a respectable gentleman now residing in this city."

The Whipping Post.—Some of the intelligent people of Delaware use as an argument for the continuance of the barbarous mode of punishment now in vogue in that State—the *lash*, administered at the whipping post—that it is a perfect *terror* to all evil doers—the palladium of their security—as no man was ever known to be whipped *twice*. As there are exceptions to all general rules, so it seems there is in the argument for the lash, used by our Delaware friends, who desire its continuance as one of the institutions of the State. A convict named Laborious, confined in the jail at New Castle, last Fall received twenty lashes. His back was torn by the cat, and his flesh bruised and lacerated. He had not been released from his punishment a week, before he committed another offence—robbed a church—and on Saturday next he is again to come under the strong arm of an officer, who will give him twenty more, applied in no spirit of mercy. The whipping post in this instance failed to have the good effect upon the morality of this man attributed to it by its advocates in Delaware. We have no sympathy for Laborious, or any other criminal, but we do think the present mode of punishing crime in Delaware a disgrace to the State, and to the age in which we live.—*Delaware Co.* (*Pa.*) *Republican.*

Speech of H. M. Fuller.—We have received from Henry M. Fuller a copy of his speech, delivered in the House of Representatives last week, defining his position upon the slavery question. It is not often we find a politician with quite as much presumption as this man Fuller. Elected because of his avowed opposition to slavery, he is scarcely warm in his seat before he turns his back upon his constituents, and, with brazen-faced impudence, repudiates all his former declarations, and comes out flat-footed, as good a specimen of a doughface as any slave driver in Congress could desire; and all this under the plea of being a *National* man, when the truth is, he turned dirt-eater, hoping, with the help of his Know-Nothing sentiments, to be able to reach the Speaker's chair. We have no patience with such cameleon-like politicians as this Fuller. His speech exhibits the whole character of the man in a light which disgusts and sickens those who know him. We ask forgiveness for having supported him through our columns and by our ballot for Canal Commissioner, and pray to be delivered, here and hereafter, from all such traitors to liberty as Henry M. Fuller.—*Delaware Co.* (*Pa.*) *Republican.*

How cheering it is to the soul of him who loves freedom to see the people of Kentucky moving for their own redemption from slavery. On Saturday last (24th inst.) there was a Republican meeting held at Alexandria, Ky. (which we report this morning), and on the same evening we received the report of another meeting in Lewis County, Ky., which we also publish in our daily and weekly papers of this morning's issue; which, with Madison, Rockcastle and other Counties, show the elements of freedom upon our own soil worthy of the highest commendation.

These facts now go forth to cheer the hearts of thousands who sympathize with the unhappy condition of our people, and to give courage to the labouring men, mechanics and others who suffer by the unpaid labour of slaves—an institution the perpetuation of which tends as much to crush the energy of the whites as to accumulate wealth from the slave.

Let the patriots of freedom, those who love the true American Democracy, and those who have fled from foreign lands of despondency to embrace it, continue to move in Kentucky in this glorious Republican cause, and our State will soon be FREE.—*Newport* (*Ky.*) *News, May* 26.

DIED.

Adamson.—Departed this life on the 18th of May at her residence in Norristown, Pa., Rebecca Adamson, in the 58th year of her age. An intimate acquaintance with the deceased for a quarter of a century, enables the writer to state that she was a devoted daughter, affectionate sister, sincere friend, and agreeable companion; zealous in promoting the moral reforms of the age, and sympathized deeply with the oppressed; esteemed by all who had the pleasure of her acquaintance, and most beloved by those who knew her best. R.

Cushing.—In Hingham, Mass., 11th ult., Miss Margaret Cushing, daughter of the late Dea Wm. Cushing, aged 70.

Acknowledgments, from May 1 to June 1.

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Miscellaneous Department.

FALLEN AMONG THIEVES.

The dearest friend I ever had, in all my experience of eighty years of life, was Harriet Delancy. We were companions in childhood. My parents were, indeed, the principal people of Rathkelspie, and inhabited a mansion in the market-place, then the most fashionable part of the town, while Harriet's father and mother rented a large broken-down, half-furnished house on the quay-side. We were rich, and they were poor; but this had no effect upon our intercourse, except that Harriet was oftener in our house than I in hers. Mrs. Delancy, a mere good-natured bustling manœuvring woman, did not attract me as my mother did her daughter. For you must know that my dear mother was looked upon in those days as the Earthly Providence of Rathkelspie. At all times and at all hours her house and heart were open. Every one who was in difficulty or distress came to ask counsel or assistance from her, and, indeed, her generosity was almost blameable. Among those persons who took undue advantage of it, my brother and I were accustomed to class Mrs. Delancy; much, however, as we were accustomed to that lady's obtrusive ways, and constantly as our house-door was open, it startled us very much one boisterous spring evening, when, at eleven o'clock, the door bell rang loudly, and we heard Mrs. Delancy's voice asking for Mrs. Hamilton.

She entered breathless from her struggles with the equinoctial gale, which was even now driving the hail furiously against the window; but it was not till my mother had forced her into the most comfortable chair near the fire that she could answer the repeated question of "What can have happened to bring you out on such a night?"

"A wild night indeed!" she gasped; "but I could not rest till I had told dear Mrs. Hamilton all about it. There is nothing wrong, I assure you—Harriet is quite well, Miss Mary. Nothing is wrong; quite the reverse. That is, I hope so; but really, I am so nervous when I think of it that I scarce know what I am saying or doing; and besides, I have come with such a strange petition to Miss Mary that I am quite ashamed. Harriet would never forgive me if she knew; but Miss Mary is so fond of dear Harry that I thought I might venture. So, as soon as I got her sent off to bed, I just said to Mr. Delancy, 'I'll slip on my cloak and hood, and see what dear Mrs. Hamilton thinks'; and he said, 'Best wait till morning, Sally'; but I wouldn't; for I thought sufficient for the morning would be the labour thereof, especially if the Vixen sail by the evening's tide, as Captain Culver says she must."

"The Vixen! Captain Culver! What are you talking of, Mrs. Delancy?"

And in the lady's own good time we learnt that one of the sailors of the revenue cutter Vixen, just in port, after an unsuccessful chase of a smuggling craft off the coast of Ireland, had brought up to Mr. Delancy's house a crumpled scrawl containing strange intelligence. It was to the purport that a cousin of his, a certain Lady Stewart, who had married a rich Irish landholder in one of the north-eastern counties, and become a widow, was shut up in an old castle by her servants; and, if not relieved within a certain time, the writer hinted that he could not answer for the consequences. Mr. Delancy, his wife said, was greatly moved to find that his cousin—an old sweetheart—whom for many years he had supposed to be so lapped in luxury as to have forgotten her less fortunate relations, should be in such a perilous case. "And so," she went on to say, "nothing will satisfy him but that he must start at once to help his cousin Bess out of her scrape. And, as for Harriet, she says she will go with him; to which, says Captain Culver, why not? The Vixen, he says, is bound for Strangford Bay, will start to-morrow night, and nothing, he declares, would please him better than to land us all safely at Caerinnys, which it seems is somewhere thereabouts. Now, you know, ma'am, if we could rescue the old lady, Harriet might be the better of it some day; that is, supposing that the wretches have not robbed her of her money; for of course she could not do less than help those who helped her; us, for instance. So I have not set my face against the plan; for though I hate the sea, and am terrified out of my life at the idea of coming near those savage Irish, still, you know, ma'am, as Captain Culver is a bachelor, and all that sort of thing, I am not satisfied that I could let Harriet go, unless I went as well. So I suppose I must not mind myself. But, by-the-by, what in the world shall I do for a decent cloak and gown for Harriet?"

The object of the visit thus came out at last, and it was speedily attained. I said, hastily, that, on that point, there could be no difficulty, as Harriet and I were much of a size; and, hurrying our visitor away to my own room, forced on her acceptance all that I knew or guessed would render my friend's outfit complete. Among other things so given, there is reason why I should specify a neat little green mantle which I had just purchased.

Early next morning Harriet was with me, thanking and reproaching me for all that I had done, yet tearfully confessing that I had relieved her of great trouble, by enabling her to appear at Caerinnys as became her father's daughter. "You have too often accused me of being too proud in these matters," she said; "and I am humble now, through pride; because I should not like to have it said or thought that we went to Lady Stewart's help from mercenary motives." The blush upon her cheek, as she said this, showed that her mother's speculations on this head had wounded her high spirit to the quick.

At nine o'clock in the evening, the moon nearly at full, we were bidding farewell to our friends by the quay side. My brother, laughingly, suggested terrors to our Harriet, who, fully expecting Lady Stewart's rebels to submit at the first summons, was not to be daunted. "If harm should threaten us," she added, with much feeling, "we shall have an able knight and many doughty squires ready with aid." As she spoke, the clear cold moonlight fell upon her face, and it seemed to me that she never looked more beautiful. Nor to me alone, I suspect, did she seem beautiful; for Captain Culver had approached us quietly, and there was that in his look and voice, as he thanked her for her good opinion of himself and his crew, which set me speculating, as all girls of seventeen will do, upon the future. Till that moment I had been anxious about the success of this cruise in the Vixen; but now I felt satisfied that Harriet was in good hands, and that if love was an efficient helper, she was safe from harm.

William and I lingered on the quay long after our friends left us, watching the clever little Vixen as she crossed the bar, between Inchcarne and the coast, and vanished in the darkness.

Time passed on: and I began to think it unusual for the Vixen to be so long absent from Rathkelspie; but it was not till a month had elapsed that any of us confessed ourselves to be really anxious on our friends' behalf. Then even my father seemed to think matters serious, and even spoke either of sending across to Portpatrick to inquire whether there were no tidings of the cutter, or of writing to some person in authority to ascertain whether the Vixen had received fresh orders. Before any fresh step was taken, came an order from the revenue station at Kilkrummoch, desiring that a certain number of carts should be in readiness at the quay-side of Rathkelspie, to remove some heavy packages out of the Vixen cutter, then hourly expected. The revenue-officer who brought the order set the whole town in commotion by strange rumours which he brought with him. Kilkrummoch fishing-boats, which had been blown by the late storm across the narrow channel between Scotland and Ireland, had been told at Donaghadee that the Vixen was storm-stayed in Strangford Lough, being unable to cross the bar during the late south-east gale; but that she had made some wonderful captures during her long cruise. Some whispered that not only had she taken the smuggler of which she had been so long in chase, but that she had also captured a French privateer, laden with Spanish gold; which, together with a great number of prisoners of rank—among whom were three ladies—she was bringing in triumph to Rathkelspie; others denied the privateer; but said that, in her chase of the smuggler, she had come upon a haunt of buccaneers, commanded by a female captain, who had bravely defended their little island, but had finally surrendered after both their Amazon leader and brave Captain Culver had been wounded. It was for their treasures, said the people, that so many carts were wanted; and it was to carry the wounded lady-captain to the hospital that Mr. M'Donal had been ordered to bring down his sedan-chair to the quay-side.

Towards evening of the day after Captain Culver's orders reached Rathkelspie, a change in the wind caused the knowing ones to prophesy the prompt arrival of the cutter. The array of carts drew up at the quay-side, the sedan was set at ease behind the look-out house; the crowd, attracted by the strange reports that had been current, were gathered in masses on the pier; and, as the glowing light of sunset fell upon their eager and expectant faces, the whole scene was picturesque enough, to me a most exciting one, as soon as word was given that the Vixen was spied rounding Inchcarne point.

The little ship swam into the bay stately as a swan. In an instant she was surrounded by a crowd of boats; every boatman offering assistance, and asking innumerable questions. When the first party came ashore out of the cutter, the high-wrought expectations of the spectators was shown in the deathlike stillness that succeeded the late hum of voices. Their whole souls seemed concentrated in their eyes. They never thought now of making inquiries; they were only too content to look. Judge, then, of their disappointment, when the first person who landed was Mrs. Delancy. But, at the same time, attention was attracted to the movements of Captain Culver and Mr. Delancy, who were carrying, rather than assisting, a tall veiled figure from the boat. "It's true, it's true. See, the captain's arm is in a sling; and the lady must be sore wounded to let herself be carried in that fashion. What for have they rolled her up in veils and mantles? I would like rarely to see a she-captain, but I cannot get a glimpse of her face. Nay! if that's not Miss Harriet coming out of the boat, with two bonny little dogs in her arms. She-captains are fine folk, to have such fine attendance! Just see how tender-like they are carrying her. Softly, Captain, softly! The sedan is ready, and M'Donald has had two or three extra drams; so he'll be as steady as a rock."

The laugh that followed did not prevent the crowd from making way with instinctive courtesy for the passage of the lady; and, when Harriet approached, many a rough cap was raised to greet her, and many a rough voice murmured, "If Miss Harry was the she-captain, there are many that would fain be o' her followin'."

What story had Harriet to tell? She used to say that that voyage to Ireland was the one period of her life to which she looked back with unmixed delight. The moonlight walks on the deck of the Vixen; the feelings then aroused; the words then spoken, that were to be remembered for life; even the very anticipations of danger, gave a vague pleasure worth a thousand pyramids of solid gain. They found themselves too soon in Strangford Lough. But even when she parted from the Vixen, and saw the square tower of Caerinnys frowning above her from its seagirt isle, she was still full of hope for herself and others.

It had been agreed that the Delancys should land from the cutter before reaching Caerinnys, and should make their appearance there, not backed by an armed force, but simply as Lady Stewart's nearest relatives; arrived to pay a visit to her in her Irish home. Their reception was to point out to them their future course; but they arranged with Captain Culver that if they did not return within twenty-four hours, he was to understand that they intended staying at Caerinnys for the present, and that he might depart in search of the smuggler without feeling any anxiety on their account. His return to the neighbourhood was to be announced to them by a signal on a point of land visible from Lady Stewart's windows. These preliminaries settled, they pursued their journey.

When they reached Caerinnys, it appeared desolate enough in the gray twilight. The whole house consisted of one large square tower, built upon the edge of a small island accessible by land when the tide was at the lowest. The terraces and flower-gardens which had once softened the harsh features of the place had all fallen to ruin, through neglect. A few felled trees, of noble size, lay prostrate upon the rank and weedy lawn.

After waiting long at the gate, the Delancys were admitted into the castle, and received with constrained but cringing civility, by Jeffrey, the steward, who himself led them to his lady's chamber. This was an apartment of enormous size, with narrow windows, flowing tapestry, and a look of discomfort in all its arrangements; yet with some articles of luxury scattered about. Here, in a high-backed chair of gilded leather, and with her little dogs at her feet, sat Lady Stewart, beautiful still, although no longer young. Even when I knew her, I used to marvel how a woman of her years and sorrows could retain so soft a skin; so youthful an appearance. To the last, she wore the same delicate rouge on her cheek, and a light touch of powder in her hair. She never dressed in anything except the richest and most delicate-tinted silks or satins, and never appeared without the black velvet collar round her slender throat, clasped with its diamond solitaire; valuable bracelets on her arms, which to the last were beautifully rounded; rich gems on her taper fingers. Such was her attire when the Delancys were first introduced into her presence at Caerinnys; and she was so unlike in everything to the place in which they found her that she looked more like a princess bound there by a fairy spell than a real every-day woman.

This lady's reception of her cousins was all that they could desire; and for a few days things went well. The Delancys soon found out that Lady Stewart's life was in no danger; for a large income, which her servants had applied to their own use, depended on it. But she was their prisoner. She could not stir from her apartment without leave—a leave which she no longer sought. She could not even speak as she felt; and, when she ventured to hint at her desire to escape out of thraldom, her eyes would wander round the room with a vague glance of terror. Something she dreaded; although what that was she never dared to tell.

The lady of the castle soon became attached to Harriet; and, when Mr. Delancy suggested that she should return with them to see Rathkelspie, the poor prisoner caught at the hint with eagerness, but begged him to contrive the ways and means of doing so without speaking to her about it. Mr. Delancy, thus encouraged, laid his plans, taking only Harriet into his counsels. In the present day they would have had little difficulty in deciding how to act. Nothing would have been easier than to call in the aid of law. But, sixty years ago, things were quite different, and the state of the country was such that it was much safer to plan an escape without trying the power of the law against the lawless. It was considered best to leave behind the massive plate possessed by Lady Stewart, and to be content with the more valuable articles of jewellery which could be carried in a small compass. To gather these jewels together, and to prepare the baggage for a sudden flight, was Harriet's especial duty; not an easy one, because her huge chamber, like all others at Caerinnys, opened into all sorts of winding staircases and hidden passages, and was liable at all moments to be entered by one or other of the servants. These good people, under the pretext of strict attention to the guests, were keeping up a constant watch upon their movements. Harriet's room had, however, one advantage over all the others in the house; it was supposed to be haunted, and no one but Jeffrey dared to enter it alone after nightfall—even he not being quite comfortable over his own boldness. Therefore Harriet was left a good deal to her own devices, and availed herself so well of her opportunities as to discover in her own room a good hiding-place for whatever she wished to conceal. It was at the head of her bed, behind the wainscot; cobwebs that tapestried the door proved the place to be either unknown or forgotten, and upon that hint she chose it for her use.

All was at last ready, and nothing waited for but the return of the Vixen. Day after day, however, passed, and still there was no signal on the wooded hill, while the increasing civility of the servants, their determination to escort the strangers on their walks, their eagerness to be always at hand—forestalling every want and wish—made it evident that their suspicions were aroused, and that a prompt departure was desirable.

The visitors had stayed a fortnight at Caerinnys, when Harriet was roused from sleep one night by the sound of voices almost at her ear. She had once before fancied something of the kind, but had persuaded herself that it was only fancy, or the sighing of the wind. To-night there could be no mistake; so she rose softly out of bed, flung round her the mantle I had given her, which happened to be lying near, and groped her way to the point from which the sounds seemed to proceed. They led her to the recess behind her bed. She opened the door gently; a ray of light falling on the floor from a chink in the wainscot with which it was lined, pointed out whence the sounds came, and, advancing carefully, she listened with the most eager attention. At first, she could not make out what they said, for there were several speakers, and their language and tones were difficult to follow; but at length Jeffrey's familiar voice was heard, and from what he said, she discovered that they were completing a plot for the murder of herself, her father, and mother, and the regaining, in this way, of their lost control over Lady Stewart and her fortune. The day after the next was the time decided upon for the execution of their project; and, with a minuteness of detail that made her blood run cold, everything was arranged for the perpetration of the crime and its complete concealment.

Bold as she was, Harriet was yet only a girl of seventeen; and, as the conviction forced itself upon her that they were almost powerless to avert their impending fate, her senses failed for an instant—faint and weak, she was compelled to lean for support against the wall. To her great horror, it yielded to her touch; a door, similar to that which communicated with her own room suddenly sprang open, and she found herself, without warning, in the midst of the conspirators. For one dreadful moment she gave herself up for lost, but the sudden shock of danger had restored her self-control. It was otherwise with those on whom she had intruded. They leapt from their seats with terror; superstitious awe was manifested in their blanched faces, and, with a murmered exclamation of "Greenmantle! Greenmantle!" they rushed from the room in wild disorder, throwing down the table, and extinguishing the light in their confusion.

Harriet perceived at once that she was, for the present, safe. They had mistaken her for the ghost supposed to haunt that part of the house. It was even possible that their foul project might be put to flight by the supposed intervention of the spirit. In case of one possible accident, however, she returned swiftly to her chamber; and, taking especial care to fasten both the doors of the recess, and to conceal her mantle, she returned to her couch. It was well that she lost no time in doing this; for, a very few minutes afterwards, one of the many doors of her chamber was stealthily unclosed, and Jeffrey crept in, with a candle in one hand and a knife in the other. Through her half-closed eyelids she could see him looking curiously round the room, then coming to the bed. She had presence of mind sufficient to keep still, although she fancied that the knife was at her throat, and drew her breath regularly; even when the unfaithful steward passed the candle once or twice close to her eyes. Presently, muttering, "It must have been Greenmantle after all!" the traitor glided gently from the room.

Harriet slept no more that night. Immediate escape was the sole chance of life; but how to leave Caerinnys without help from the Vixen she could not imagine. Long before it was light she was at her window, straining her eyes in the direction of the promised signal; although previous disappointment left her little hope of seeing it. The faint blue of dawn gradually stole over the face of the earth; it changed to a warmer hue, and then the sun, slowly rising from the eastern horizon, gilded the tips of the distant hills, touched the edge of the waters, and rising higher and higher in the heavens, shone full on the shore, the woods, the signal-hill—the signal itself!

An exclamation of intense gratitude broke from her lips. Near escape was possible, but still there were great difficulties to be overcome. Jeffrey's nocturnal visit showed that his suspicions were aroused; and, though lulled for the present, would revive upon the slightest grounds. Experience had also taught Harriet that it was almost impossible to escape observation when he was on the alert. The girl felt that her only chance was to go instantly to Captain Culver. After last night's orgies, probably, the servant would sleep heavily during the early morning; but in an hour or two later they would be again dogging her steps. Could she not go herself to the bay? The tide was already low, and was still falling; she could cross with little difficulty. Maidenly hesitations intervened, but it was necessary to suppress them; and, wrapping a large cloak round her, and tying a handkerchief over her head in the then fashion of the country, she set off on her perilous journey.

She escaped from the house without detection, stole down the alley of evergreens which led to the shore, and then, with the delay of a moment passed in fervent prayer, ventured across the channel. The water, at first almost knee-deep, became shallower as she proceeded; and, in a few minutes, she found herself on dry ground, with a bright May sun to cheer the way. Ignorant of the country, Harriet felt most secure in following the line of coast; at sight of every indentation, every fresh bay, she hoped that at last the signal-hill would lie before her.

Long before she reached the hill she met the captain; who, with the zeal of a true lover, was bound already in the direction of his lady's dwelling. Explanations and consultations followed; but I am content to add, they laid their plans so well, that the escape from Caerinnys was effected on that very night. Jeffrey and his crew were taken by surprise and overpowered, almost before they knew what had befallen them.

The garrison being thus mastered, it was of course a matter of no difficulty to carry off the whole of Lady Stewart's plate and other articles of value, as well as the jewels Harriet had laid in store. The quantity of plate was something fabulous, and the only way of accounting for it having been permitted to remain so long at the castle was, that Jeffrey and his companions were so confident of their position that they had no thought of being interfered with in their unlawful proceedings. In the old house on the Quayside, after Lady Stewart came to live with the Delancys, the plate, jewels and lace were a sight well worth a day's journey to see. Magnificent candelabra of solid silver, dishes of the precious metal were in daily use, and the most beautiful gold and silver vases were scattered in profusion over rooms and passages. As to the jewels, as I told you, Lady Stewart always wore them on neck, arms and fingers; but Mrs. Delancy also amused the whole township of Rathkelspie, by appearing at church on the Sunday after her return from Ireland, with long diamond pendants hanging from her ears, and visible below her bonnet. She wore also several valuable finger-rings outside her gloves.

Captain Culver's gallantry at the siege of Caerinnys—where, by the way, he was slightly wounded by Jeffrey's pistol—joined to his previous character, excited a strong interest in high quarters, and gained him promotion. He distinguished himself in many a bold exploit during the next few years of the war, and died like a hero on the deck of his own ship, with the shout of victory around him. I was by, and saw how Harriet listened with a sparkling eye and glowing cheek to the great story of his death. I was by, two years afterwards, and saw Mr. Delancy weep while he tried to comfort cousin Stewart at his daughter's funeral.—*Household Words.*

RAGGED ROBIN.

There is a large, light, lofty workshop, situated in one of the best thoroughfares of the town, in which are occupied about two dozen girls between the ages of eight and seventeen. They make choice furniture for dolls' houses. They work in groups, each group having its own department of the little trade; some cut the wire which forms the framework of the furniture, some cover the wire with muslin, or adorn the furniture with imitations of wood carving, others cover sofas and chairs with gay chintzes, satins and velvets, or fit up miniature bedsteads with bed furniture. The articles so made all look luxurious and beautiful, and have also the merit of not being fragile. A young lady whose age is not so great as that of the majority of the workers—only whose education has been infinitely better—rules over the little band; apportions the work; distributes the material; keeps the accounts; stops the disputes; stimulates the intellect, and directs the recreation of all. The Autocrat of all the Russias has not a sway more despotic than Miss O. P. Q.; but the two potentates differ in this, that the one governs by fear, the other by affection.

The objects of this little institution are to employ and educate girls born of the poorest parents, and to accumulate for them the profits of their labour, so that they may be of use to them in after life.

It is not undesirable that the wives of the rising generation, and the mothers of the next, should be intelligent, industrious and moral; or that they should be possessors of some little store of money, which might be used to start them in the world, or drawn upon, as need came, in the course of wedded life. Such are the objects of the promoters of this industrial school for the manufacture of Art Toys. It is clear that they are not to be achieved at once; but it is pleasant to know that these Art Toys find a ready sale, and that their elegance and durability are likely to preserve for them the public favour. They are the invention of a lady, and may be remembered by some as furnishing the Tudor Villa, a model contributed by her to the Great Exhibition of eighteen hundred and fifty-one.

The discipline of the little factory about which I am speaking I will now endeavour briefly to describe. There is head-work as well as hand-work. One morning, when the girls had just been singing in chorus, as they sat at labour, a song about buttercups and daisies, a confused little fumbling tap was heard at the workshop door, and several of the workers, when they recognised the little creature who was knocking, joyfully pulled her in. They had not seen her for many months—not since they had all been together in the Ragged School. Her schoolfellows had sought for this poor little creature, who had won their love and sympathy, to tell her of their new kind of work; but her parents had left their old house, and gone none of the neighbours knew whither.

Well, there she was. And the great girls took her in their arms and passed her from one to another, and the littles ones took it in turns to hold her hand. "How are you?" "Where have you been all this time?" "Where do you live?" "How did you come?" The child, in a ragged gown that had belonged to a much larger sister, answered only the last of these questions. She partially drew up her long dress, and held out her feet, buried in enormous boots. "I would have come long ago," she said, with perfect good humour, "but I had no shoes and no stockings. I wanted so much to come to-day, I could not stay away any longer. Mrs. Sims told me you were at work here, so I put on Billy's boots. My feet are so sore," she added, wincing with the pain.

Miss O. P. Q. went to her and had the boots removed, the poor little stockingless feet bathed; for they were swollen and bleeding. News of the child's effort being in the meantime carried by his wife to the foreman of the men's workshop, in another part of the building, he, who was a good-natured man, made a collection amongst the workpeople; and, going out himself for the purpose, bought a pair of stockings, and a pair of strong well-fitting shoes. Within an hour the little girl was comfortably shod: proud indeed, and happy. Moreover, there were rumours that the foreman's wife intended giving her two pinafores; for her great frock hung in dirty strips about her limbs.

My visit to the room was paid soon after the arrival of the little outcast. While she rested from her long walk, sitting by Miss O. P. Q., some girls came up to the table, and inquired what they should do. "Your Balaklava work." Now, this work did not seem to be popular. The name was applied to a great pile of confusion in the corner of the room, strongly contrasting with the order everywhere else visible. It was a heap of wire-frames which had been made in the spring, before the girls could work so well as they now do. These frames had been paid for; but, being found unfit for use, Miss O. P. Q. had decreed that each girl should spend a part of every day in correcting this bad work, without receiving further payment. The girls murmured. "Edith," the teacher then said to her own younger sister, "then I must give it to you to do." The golden-haired child lifted up her eyes, and then answered promptly, "Which shall I begin upon, the large arm-chairs or the sofas?" Her obedience had a prompt effect. "No, if you please," several cried out at once, "don't give Balaklava work to Miss Edith. She has no right to do it. None of that bad work is hers. We'll do it." And as gay as larks, they skipped across the room, took up the work, and set about it.

The new comer—who got the name of Ragged Robin—was of course put to the easiest employment; covering the wire with muslin. Her fingers were awkward, and she was bewildered with the scene around her; she did did not get on at all well. Mis O. P. Q. encouraged her, and said that every one must have her time to learn; appealing to the girls, who testified that, at first, they had not earned sixpence a-week, and now they could earn six, eight or ten shillings.

Some incident having produced, soon afterwards, a conversation about spiders, Miss O. P. Q. went for a book, and read to the girls, while they worked, an amusing account of spiders and of their ways.

As dinner-time drew near, our new upholsteress becoming hungry, produced from her pocket a penny saveloy, which she had bought upon the road. She was recommended, however, not to eat it, and invited to dine with the other girls; two of whom were then laying the dinner-cloth on one of the workroom tables, whilst another was to be heard cooking in an adjoining room. The girls, I found, paid a shilling from their wages every Saturday, for the week's dinner; and, by all dining together, they secured a wholesome and sufficient meal even for the daily twopence. This was an arrangement of Miss O. P. Q.'s; who had remarked with sorrow the unwholesome food brought by the children, and that even sometimes they brought with them none at all; either because their mothers had nothing to give them, or were in an ill humour, and might not be asked for it.

The young cook brought in the produce of her skill—a dish of stewed meat, and a more ample dish of hot potatoes. The girls sang a grace, and the new comer's eyes, at that and at the steam of meat together, filled with tears. The pure air she breathed, the light, comfort and cleanliness, the social meal, the cheerful faces, were all so different from what she knew at home.

After dinner, the children ran down to their gardens, attended their flowers—for they had gardens; and, in three-quarters of an hour after the time when dinner had begun, they were all happily seated again at their work.

At four o'clock, a bright-looking young lady, who had not appeared before, summoned the girls to their lessons. They addressed here as Miss Anna, and at once two of the girls sprang away to prepare the schoolroom, which was in another corner of the premises. First, there was a writing lesson. Then came lessons in geography and history. Ragged Robin had never learnt geography before; but guessed it must be something very interesting when she heard one of the girls say that she lay awake at night to tell her eldest sister, who was at service during the day, Miss Anna's story about Norway. At the history lesson, two girls argued the point whether the horses of the Britons were kind to stand still in the scythe-wheeled chariots, till their masters were out of danger; or cruel, to drag the chariots among the enemy (of course, the horses were free agents, and conscious of what they did). The humble cottage in Britain of Caractacus touched them more than anything; but led to the inquiry how a king came to dwell in a cottage? All sympathies went with the Britons; and, when the narrative came to the point where the Romans have to call forces from Britain to defend their threatened country, the triumph of the children was unbounded; and such exclamations as, "Ah! it was their turn then!" resounded on all sides.

During the last summer Miss O. P. Q. received an invitation from a friend of hers to take the little upholsterers for a day's pleasure at a country-house. Twenty-five went in a van. Unfortunately they had a wet day: but all enjoyed the drive, and kept up their spirits by loud choruses. Many of the girls had scarcely ever—some had never—seen the country. The little gardens at Milend called forth shouts of delight; how much more the rose-covered cottages and corn-fields, as they travelled on? Not one of them had ever seen corn-fields at harvest time. Ragged Robin was quite fascinated by a garden full of large green cabbages, on which the rain-drops hung, with scarlet-runners shooting up between. They passed a windmill—its construction was explained to them, and their delight was great, for they had sung a song about a windmill, which they said they never before understood. It is hard to realize the dreariness of ignorance like this in our town alleys; and yet, to how many does it spare the pain of an intolerable contrast! So far all had been laughing and talking; but, on entering a fine elm-tree avenue leading to the house they visited, they were subdued and became silent. They were gladly welcomed, and despatched presently with umbrellas and over-shoes to explore the grounds, where they were especially astonished at the large conservatories, those circular walls of splendid plants. One child timidly asked, whether she might pick up some dead rose-leaves to carry home? They visited the rabbits, poultry, pheasants, dogs, and horses. Dinner was laid in a long room apart from the house. Vases of bright flowers stood on the table; and in the centre stood a vase of corn, and of fern and other leaves; picture-books for the children to look at lay on tables about the room. During dinner one of the young ladies played on the piano. One child lowered knife and fork gradually till they rested on the plate; her eyes, full of wonder, lightened into admiration, then into delight, and last a smile passed over the careworn little face. By-and-by entered a large dog, wet with rain, exciting great commotion. He drew some of the party to the lawn to play with him, whilst others closed round the piano. Some went to the top of the house to see the view, others went to the boat on the lake. A sudden thunder-storm diversified the entertainment.

In the course of the afternoon a son of the house desired to take a photograph of the party. They were arranged—some standing, some sitting, some with flowers. The difficulty was that, if one held a flower, all the others wished to hold one also, which the young artist declared to be against the rules of composition. The children wished Miss O. P. Q. to come into the group; and then each wanted to be taken sitting by her side. When all was settled, great misfortune got among the chemicals, and the photograph did not succeed.

At tea-time each girl found a bunch of flowers by her plate, gathered for her by the children of the family. In returning home, each with flowers, the upholsterers were more wild with delight than they had been in going, each talking of what she had liked best. Little Robin quietly said:

"I shall never throw away my flowers."

"But they will die."

"Yes," she replied. "But I shall never throw them away."

Poor baby, they soon became her only treasure. After she had been some time at the school, Miss O. P. Q. found it necessary to send word to her mother that she wished she would keep her daughter clean, as cleanliness was indispensable. For several days after that the child did not come, and at last the mother sent word that she "would not let her go back to work, because of Miss O. P. Q.'s message; but she was much obliged for the shoes and frock."

Weeks afterwards, poor Ragged Robin came one afternoon with a baby in her arms, and two little ones dragging at her ragged frock. They had trooped all the way from Clerkenwell "just only to see Miss O. P. Q." Ragged Robin was a very little child, whose growth had been stunted by nursing children nearly as big as herself. She tottered under her burden and almost fell as she climbed the work-room stairs. Miss O. P. Q. was not at home, and, after waiting as long as she could, in hope that she would come, Robin toiled painfully back with her three brothers. Next day the gentle teacher went herself to Robin's house. It looked too dirty to enter; but one of the girls who acted as guide mounted the stairs, and on a dark landing Robin was found washing heavy sheets, with which she stood upon a three-legged stool to struggle. She came down-stairs, and wept at the kind words brought home to her. She is with many thousands pining and perishing in London courts.

When I last saw those little toy-makers whom Robin was not privileged to join, they were looking brilliant in the light of a tall Christmas-tree.

The numbers employed in this industrial school have, for a season, been diminished by the closing of an institution for adults, to which it was appended. I do not think, however, that the children's training-school will die; it is more likely that it will flourish, and be an example and encouragement to those who think it worth while to found more of the same sort.—*Household Words.*

HORRORS ENDURED BY THE FRENCH PROSCRIPTS IN CAYENNE.

One of the many thousands of the unfortunate victims in Cayenne writes to his friend as follows. It is painful to read its frightful details:

"Citizen and Friend—I don't know whether you have received my last letter, in which I gave you some rather extended details upon what has occurred for some time past. I believe I announced to you the death of our companion Delin, and the approaching one of Féteau. To-day it is not alone the demise of the latter that I have to report, but that of Brun, who died the day before yesterday. The two sons of citizen Foubert, of the Nièvre, obtained *permission*, yesterday (Sunday), to remain during the day and the night with their father, an old man sixty-four years of age. This poor old man is near his end, and many will follow him immediately. You observe that we do not exaggerate much in saying that our executioners consigned us to death by hard labour and ill treatment. Notwithstanding the continual rains, the works are not slackened; on the contrary, harshness and severity are doubled towards the unhappy workers, who, now, are nearly all emaciated. The number of sick is frightful, for the season brings down some every day. The two strongest workers have just been struck down by fever. They are lying in the Hospital du Salut, as well as the first digger of the Lower Alps, who has just entered it. Scurvy has invaded the colony, as well as rheumatic and sciatic pains. Many wait to the last extremity before having themselves visited, as the two doctors, who come in turn from the Isle du Salut, withdraw the wine, the only support for the stomach, from all those who declare themselves sick, and even from those who became wounded in the yards. The doctors, prejudiced against the prisoners by our jailers, make common cause with them, and, notwithstanding their wounds or their complaints, send the old and the infirm to the works, under pretext of weeding—a kind of work, moreover, very fatiguing.

"I told you, in my last, that M. Reynaud, the head of the medical staff at the Isle du Salut, did not do his duty, and trembled before the petticoats of the so-called Sisters of Charity; that the provisions were abominable, and that there was nothing to support the sick, who were dying of want and exhaustion; Sister Famine still gnawing the bare bone of politics which she detests, because they never answer to her drawling orations, and have no veneration whatever for the hypocrisy of the clergy, and of their auxiliaries in stomachers. Well, M. Chevassu, arrived from Cayenne to replace M. Reynaud, has had the art to render the latter regretted, for he was at least gentle and polite towards the sick. The 1st of January, on which day M. Chevassu arrived, there were thirty-seven sick in the hospital, of whom at least one-half were labouring under dangerous disorders. The next day M. Chevassu, having replaced M. Reynaud, sent away ten sick persons, of whom the half were still very low, and he did this in a coarse and brutal manner. The day after that he sent away six more, under pretence of obtaining more room and better air for those who remained. These dismissals were preceded or followed by very mortifying remarks for the sick, who had never been treated in such a way by any doctor. M. Chevassu was going to send away, one after the other, all those who occupied beds in the *salle des politiques*, but he found it necessary to stop, although he sends away uncured men every day. More than ten persons, who had thus been dismissed, are still far from being reëstablished, and six have returned to the hospital, in spite of the repugnance of the Surgeon-Major. Let us mention, in passing, the case of Féteau, sent away by M. Chevassu on the 2d of January. It was found necessary to carry him on the barrow appropriated to the removal of the dead, to the boat in which he was to be taken to the Isle Saint Joseph the day after the morrow. But he was brought back to the hospital the same day, and there died four days afterwards.

"M. Chevassu said on the evening before he died, 'That man is not sick; his tongue is very clean!' He also said to Brun, five or six days before his death, 'Come, you are a fool, who pretend to be more ill than you are.'

"Such is the man whom they have sent us! M. Reynaud had established recovery-houses for the sick, on leaving the hospital. These establishments, with exemption from labour during ten days, enabled those who came out to reëstablish themselves, and to gather the strength necessary to perform the rude work imposed gratuitously at St. Joseph. M. Chevassu has suppressed these recovery-houses, and those who go to them, still sinking with weakness, are obliged to go to the barrows the next day. Insults and coarse reproaches are the habitual language of M. Chevassu, who has said that he will manage us at the point of the bayonet! He inquires every day of the Sister whether the sick have been insolent to her for ever talking of punishment.

Our jailers are not nice now about their thefts. We are nearly all without shoes or breeches, and many without our own property. For myself, I expect very soon to get back to prison. I always have the bullet, and can no longer work with the irons trailing on the ground, nor draw the barrow, from six in the morning till noon, without eating or drinking. So we are reduced to prefer the prison with bread and water; but there we at least have shade, instead of work in the open air under a torrid zone."

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

When Erskine was made Lord Chancellor, Lady Holland never rested till she prevailed on him to give Sidney Smith a living. Smith went to thank him for the appointment. "Oh," said Erskine, "don't thank *me*, Mr. Smith. I gave you the living because Lady Holland insisted on my doing so; and if she had desired me to give it to the devil, *he* must have had it."—*Rogers's Table-Talk.*

——Political Amnesty.—We (the *Times*) have great pleasure in announcing that Her Majesty, wishing to mark the conclusion of peace by an act of mercy, has given orders that a free and full pardon shall be granted to all persons under sentence for political offences. Consequently, Frost and his associates, convicted of treason in 1839, and subsequently transported to Australia, will be set at liberty; and Mr. Smith O'Brien also will be permitted to return to his native country.

——Defence of George Fox.—William Howitt has come forward, in a letter in the *Morning Advertiser*, with a defence of George Fox against the attacks of Mr. Macaulay, who is said to have "grossly and unjustly maligned" the founder of the Society of Friends. A number of authorities and opinions are cited to show that Fox was "one of the most noble, disinterested, intellectually able, and religiously profound and independent men that ever lived."

——Dr. Barnes, who is now about ninety-five years of age, being sometimes (as even younger men might be) inclined to sleep a little during sermon, a friend who was with him in his pew one Sunday lately, having joked with him on his having nodded now and then, Barnes insisted he had been awake all the time. "Well, then," said his friend, "can you tell me what the sermon was about?" "Yes, I can," he answered, "it was about half-an-hour too long."—*Diary of Thomas Moore.*

——M. Kossuth in Birmingham.—On Wednesday evening M. Kossuth delivered the first of two lectures on the Austrian concordat in the Town Hall of Birmingham. Considering the prices of admission, the attendance was numerous; about 2,000 persons were present. M. Kossuth commenced by referring to the triumphant manner in which he was received in Birmingham four years ago. Since then he had grown old; since that meeting the gloom of disappointment had settled on his brow. However, he still entertained hopes for his dear country, and would not degrade the dignity of man's nature by being less persevering in his mission than the spider was in the cell of Robert Bruce. At the conclusion of his lecture a cordial vote of thanks was passed to him on the motion of Mr. T. C. Salt.

——Tyranny of Archbishop Laud.—Mr. Workman, a minister at Gloucester, had asserted that pictures and ornaments in churches were a relic of idolatry. He was thrown into prison. A short time before the town of Gloucester had made him a grant of $20 a year for life. It was ordered to cease, and the mayor and municipal officers were prosecuted and fined a large sum for having made it. On quitting his prison, Workman opened a little school. Laud ordered it to be closed. To earn a living the poor minister turned doctor. Laud interdicted his medicining, as he had interdicted his teaching; hereupon Workman went mad, and soon after died.—*Guizot's English Revolution.*

——Revision of the Bible.—Mr. James Haywood has given notice in the House of Commons that he will, on Tuesday, the 20th of May, make his promised motion for an address to the Queen for a revision of the English Translation of the Bible. In the meantime we trust that the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, the London District Society, as well as the provincial Unitarian Associations, will present petitions as numerously signed as possible, praying the House to vote such an address to her Majesty. There are, no doubt, many liberal Churchmen and Dissenters who are preparing to sign such petitions, and we commend to those who are actively interested in this important question the example of the respected minister at Lancaster, who has prepared two petitions, one from his congregation, and another from the inhabitants of the town.

——Appreciation of the Living.—Let us not forget that if honour be for the dead, gratitude can only be for the living. He who has once stood beside the grave, to look upon the companionship which has been forever closed, feeling how impotent, *there*, are the wild love, and the keen sorrow, to give one instant's pleasure to the pulseless heart, or atone in the lowest measure to the departed spirit for the hour of unkindness, will scarcely for the future incur that debt to the heart which can only be discharged to the dust. But the lesson which men receive as individuals, they do not learn as nations. Again and again they have seen their noblest descend into the grave, and have thought it enough to garland the tombstone when they had not crowned the brow; and to pay the honour to the ashes which they had denied to the spirit. Let it not displease them that they are bidden, amidst the tumult and the dazzle of their busy life, to listen for the few voices, and watch for the few lamps, which God has toned and lighted to charm and to guide them, that they may not learn their sweetness by their silence, nor their light by their decay.—*Ruskin.*

——What can One do?—As the figure one is to the cyphers, few or many, which range after it, so is the hero, the saint, the poet, the prophet, and the sage, to their species. One man enters, thirty-four years ago, the western metropolis of Scotland, sits quietly down in a plain house in the north-west suburbs, and writes sermons, which speedily change his pulpit into a battery, and memorise every Sabbath by a moral thunderstorm. Private as pestilence comes another, five years later, into London, and his wild cry, lonely at first, as that of John's in the desert, at last startles the press, the Parliament, the court, the country without, the throne within, and it is felt that the one man has conquered the two millions. Nay, was there not, two thousand years ago, from an obscure mount in Galilee, heard a voice, saying, "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven"? and has not that voice, though clouded by opposition, choked in blood, crushed under the gravestone, at length commanded the attention, if not yet the obedience, of the world? Let no one say in despair, "I am but one"; in his unity, as in the unity of a sword, lies his might—if his metal be true, his singleness is strength—he may be multiplied, indeed, but he cannot be divided. Minorities, and minorities of one, generally do the real work of mankind.—*Bards of the Bible.*

——Several correspondents have addressed us on the relationship of Mr. Macaulay to the Quakers—and we observe that some of our contemporaries occupy themselves with this question. The fact that Mr. Macaulay is the grandson of a Quaker, admits of no doubt. That Mr. Macaulay's grandfather was disowned by the Society of Friends, also admits of no doubt. How far this public act of repudiation may have been the consequence of "dishonesty" on the part of Mr. Macaulay's grandfather—as most of our correspondents assert—and how far early feelings may have embittered the heart of the historian himself towards the Quaker body, are questions which we cannot answer, and do not care to discuss. When the Society of Friends casts out a member, the reason assigned for the disgrace is, "conduct inconsistent with the truth," a phrase which the outside world must interpret according to its own lights. Mr. Macaulay's grandfather, Thomas Mills, kept a book-shop in Bristol. He was not originally a Quaker. But, professing to be convinced of the truth of Quaker principles, he was admitted into membership in 1778. Eleven years later he was publicly disowned. But he continued to use the garb and speech of a Quaker, and even to attend the Quaker meetings to the last. His daughter Selina married Zachary Macaulay, and was the mother of the essayist and historian. These facts are matters of history, whatever inference may be drawn from them by the curious.—*Athenæum.*

——Rev. W. H. Channing, in an anniversary speech at Newcastle, on Easter Monday, said: You have referred, Mr. Chairman, to the United States of America in that friendly and fraternal spirit which, I rejoice to say, I have met with since I first trod the shores of Great Britain, and which I believe does express the heart of this people towards their descendants—I hope not wholly degenerate descendants (applause). On this, as on all fitting occasions, I would say that the people of the United States respond to every pulse of good fellowship here (applause). But if you will frankly hear it, I must tell you that you have not won their confidence: whether it is your fault or not I do not know, but it is the fact. Not long since, at a festive party, a gentleman said to me, "We will bear anything from you, except being bullied by you." I said, "It is very strange, but you have just taken the words out of my mouth"; for this is precisely what the United States say to England—"We will bear anything from you except being bullied, for the simple fact that Brother Jonathan has in him the blood of old Father Bull" (laughter and applause). I don't think you will like him the less for that: to say the truth, I like him all the better. There is one thing which can produce a war between Great Britain and the United States—my impression is that there is one thing only—and that is, your wish to have it. My faith is, that Providence has designed that the destinies of these nations shall be worked out together; and in His own good time and way He will fulfil that purpose. I believe it is by no accident (and I weigh the words as I speak them) that the richest modern literature on the face of the earth has been given to the nations who speak the Anglo-Saxon tongue. I believe it is by no accident that the richest modern speech is given to the nations who have the most practical liberty, and, as the experience of the last few years has proved, the most indomitable pluck (applause). Depend upon it, the career of the nations is but just begun; and my impression is, that before that career is finished we shall find that we are one in heart, one in duty and one in destiny. May God grant it! But there are evils in the way—on your part, and on our own. And with regard to ourselves, one single word. The Chairman spoke the word "freedom." Well! the world knows there is one terrible oppression resting on us: it is the institution of slavery. We are approaching very nigh to the crisis upon which will turn the fate of our people, and I do not at all hesitate to predict that it will be a happy destiny. Depend upon it that, peacefully and unitedly, slavery will be removed, and not a vestige remain. It will be done by a cooperative movement of our whole people. It may be the last time on this earth that I may have the opportunity of saying this to you. But please to remember my words, and see if I do not prove a true prophet. We are not to be broken asunder; and slavery is not to continue. The one source of disunion in our nation is slavery, and the nation is determined that that evil shall cease. But it must be done with a view to strictest justice to all concerned; and here I declare my faith, that it will be done as generously, as magnanimously, with as wide a spirit of cooperation as you exhibited with regard to the West Indies. But when this is done, then, for the first time, you will see what that "truant, rebellious boy" of Great Britain can do. He has not begun his work yet. He is but a giant in chrysalis. I was talking to an Englishman a little while ago, and I said to him what I have just now said; and he rejoined, "Very well! if you say you have not begun to do anything yet, with the mode in which you are growing, where do you intend to stop?" I told him we intended to stop when we had spread the influence of our freedom, civil and religious, around the world—and not before. The natural allies, by the providence of God, to do this work, are Great Britain, the Canadas, and the United States; and it is a triple cord of civil and religious liberty which not all the tyrants on this earth can break (applause).

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